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HUMAN PROBLEMS  
IN  
BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXVI

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HUMAN PROBLEMS  
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BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXVI

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# HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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# The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal

## Human Problems in British Central Africa

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This Journal, published half-yearly in June and December, aims to define simply, but with scientific accuracy, the social problems facing man in Central Africa, to record what is known of such problems and to report on research being undertaken and required in the future.

Contributions are not confined to research by the Institute's past and present staff : articles and notes are welcome from all those working in the field covered, or those engaged on similar problems elsewhere whose findings are applicable to the Central African field.

The standard length of articles is in the region of 10,000 words, but longer or shorter articles will be considered from time to time. Articles should be accompanied by summaries of 100-200 words.

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### *Contributors to this Issue*

**Jaap van Velsen**, who obtained a Law Degree at Utrecht, his B.Sc. in Anthropology at Oxford in 1950 and a Ph.D. at Manchester in 1958, was employed as a Research Officer at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute from 1951-1956. While in Central Africa he worked among the Lakeside Tonga, and completed a study of these people that had been begun earlier. From 1956 to 1959 he was on the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, and he is now at the Department of African Studies at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. With Dr. H. Kuper and Dr. A. J. B. Hughes he has written "The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia," for the International African Institute's *Ethnographic Survey of Africa*.

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**Marvin P. Miracle** is a graduate student and research associate of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California. Travelling under a Ford Foundation Grant, he has been engaged in a study of the role of maize in African agriculture, and in Northern Rhodesia he has made a special study of the marketing of grain. He has also studied various aspects of African marketing and trade in the Belgian Congo and in West Africa.

**Dr. Cyril A. Rogers** was born in New Zealand and studied at the Universities of Auckland, Melbourne and London. During 1952 and 1953 he was Senior Research Fellow in Psychology at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. He has contributed numerous articles to various psychological and medical journals and recently published a book, *Measuring Intelligence in New Zealand*. He is now on the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and is directing a number of studies on race relations.



## EDITORIAL NOTES

ALTHOUGH we stated in our last Notes that this number would be devoted to Nyasaland, it has turned out to be of rather wider coverage than intended, ranging from Nyasaland to Nigeria.

We are glad to welcome back, both to Central Africa and to the pages of this journal, Dr. J. van Velsen, who contributes an article on *Missionary Factors among the Lakeside Tonga*. This should be read in conjunction with another contribution to Tonga history by the author, 'Notes on the History of the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland', appearing in *African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1959. It might be mentioned in passing that this and other historical research has revealed no connection between the various groups sharing the name Tonga, those of Nyasaland, the Plateau and Valley Tonga of Northern Rhodesia and the Mozambique Tonga or Thonga of Junod fame. Dr. van Velsen's thesis on the Nyasaland Tonga is under final revision and should shortly be in the hands of the printers.

Dr. Shepperson, who made a major contribution to the history of Nyasaland in the form of a review article in Journal No. 23, has followed this with another full review article covering the history of the King's African Rifles.

The Tonga of Northern Rhodesia appear in this number as the subject of an article by Mr. Miracle. Dr. Colson in her study of *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* gave a clear picture of the economic situation of the Tonga family: she followed this with a detailed study of Tonga diet in Journal No. 24. Mr. Miracle's article expands on another important aspect of the tribal economy when he deals with Tonga Trade. These three sources read in conjunction give a clear picture of the economy of these money-conscious people.

Finally Dr. Cyril Rogers' article on *Nigerian Race Attitudes* forms an interesting companion article to his contribution to Journal No. 25 on *Political Attitudes in Southern Rhodesia*. We welcome these products of the University College at Salisbury and hope that they are the forerunners of many more such contributions.



# THE MISSIONARY FACTOR AMONG THE LAKESIDE TONGA OF NYASALAND <sup>1</sup>

by

J. VAN VELSEN

## INTRODUCTION

THE Tonga inhabit one of the 'pockets' marked and surrounded by mountains on the western shore of the northern half of Lake Nyasa. Their area is encircled by the Mtoghambe Mountain in the north, the Vipya range in the west and the Kuwirwe and Kawanlama mountain ranges in the south. Between Nkata Bay in the north and the Luweya River to the south the foothills of the Vipya at most places reach the lake. From the Luweya southwards, between the lake and the hills, is a flat strip of land varying in width from a few hundred yards to one, or at the most two, miles. The country is broken by a few large rivers and numerous perennial streams. There are many valleys with steep, thickly forested sides and the country as a whole is well wooded.

Although the tribal identity of the Tonga is now considered obvious by themselves and by other tribes, all available evidence points to a heterogeneous origin of the people who now call themselves, and are called by others, Tonga.<sup>2</sup> The beginnings of the Tonga genesis probably lie in the last decades of the eighteenth century or the early part of the nineteenth century. This, the second phase of Tonga history,<sup>3</sup> was the period when groups trading for ivory and slaves penetrated the area from across the north-eastern shores of Lake Nyasa,<sup>4</sup> and probably caused tribal movements in the northern parts of what is now Nyasaland. Some groups settled in what I will call 'Tongaland'.

It appears that the Tonga people are an amalgamation of at least four different groups, including the Nyaliwanga whose home area

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based upon published sources and my own field notes which I collected when I studied the area as a Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. I have not been able yet to examine many other sources, e.g. the records of the Livingstonia mission. I am grateful to Professor M. Gluckman, Dr. I. Cunison, Dr. V. W. Turner and Dr. G. Shepperson for their comments on this paper.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of the Tonga past up to the time of the arrival of the Livingstonia missionaries see my 'Notes on the History of the Lakeside Tonga', *African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1959.

<sup>3</sup> The period preceding the penetrations is the first phase, about which little is known. Cf. also my 'Notes on the History of the Lakeside Tonga' (to which I will refer as 'Tonga History').

<sup>4</sup> T. Cullen Young, 1932: *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples*, Religious Tract Society, London, pp. 27 *et seq.*

is TIMBIRI's <sup>1</sup> area around Chikwina and who may be the oldest inhabitants of Tongaland; KABUNDULI and his followers, known among the Tonga as the Phiri, who settled in the hills around the upper reaches of the Luweya River; the Kapunda Banda <sup>2</sup> who settled by the lakeshore, south of the Luweya, and who may have been a Chewa offshoot entering their present habitat from the south; MANKHAMBIRA and his followers who are said to have come from across the lake with guns.

The process of coalescence was speeded up in the third quarter of the nineteenth century through the external pressure of the Ngoni. The Ngoni under MBELWA, who were one of the Nguni groups who had fled from the rising power of the Zulu king Shaka, finally settled near Ekwendeni in the middle of the last century. The Ngoni subjugated the surrounding tribes and raided their areas. Many Tonga who had been living in small scattered villages came together in a few large stockaded villages (*malingga*, sing. *lingga*). There may have been some smaller *malingga* too. The four stockades known from travellers' accounts and tradition are: the *lingga* of MANKHAMBIRA and KANGOMA by the Chinteché River, just north of the mouth of the Luweya River; MARENGA's *lingga* by Bandawe and CHAVULA's at Matete to the south-west of and not far from Bandawe. CHINYENTHA is also said to have had a *lingga*, just south of the mouth of the Luweya, but his was probably not built until after the Tonga revolted against the Ngoni.

Although one of the main objects of the Ngoni raids was to supplement their own food production, it does not seem likely that they found much in the way of food in Tongaland. The Tonga have never had herds of cattle and their staple diet is cassava which, unlike cereal crops, is not harvested and stored at a certain time of the year but left in the ground until required for consumption.

Another objective of the Ngoni raids was to increase manpower by incorporating into their ranks aliens from the raided tribes. I have no evidence that the Ngoni traded their captives as slaves to Arab agents although this possibility must not be ruled out. As a result of the Ngoni raids (and perhaps other factors) there were groups of Tonga living with the Ngoni. According to Tonga tradition several Tonga distinguished themselves as captains in the Ngoni armies. The state of bondage in which the Tonga lived in Ngoniland did not last more than about twenty-five years for the earliest captives and was proportionately shorter for the later captives. The distance between the home country of the Tonga captives and their Ngoni residence was at the most a three or four days' walk and it seems that there was regular contact between the Ngoni-

<sup>1</sup> All inheritable names with political significance in the Tonga political framework are printed in small capitals throughout.

<sup>2</sup> The Phiri and the Kapunda Banda are two factions competing for political power in the area south of the Luweya River. Tribal legends variously credit either the one group or the other with being the descendants of the earliest settlers in this area. Cf. 'Tonga History'.



Tonga and their kinsmen at home. Thus the Ngoni-Tonga never became wholly integrated with the Ngoni people like those tribal groups who had been absorbed into the Ngoni system in the earlier stages of the Ngoni wanderings and who had therefore been separated from their own tribes through time and space.

This contact between the Tonga in Ngoniland and their home area must have facilitated their escape from their Ngoni masters, when, in the middle of the 1870's, the Ngoni-Tonga rose in revolt and decamped to the lakeshore where they were received in the *nalingga* and elsewhere. The pursuing Ngoni were routed in the battle of the Chinteché River by MANKHAMBIRA's stockade.<sup>1</sup>

#### ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES

It is a significant fact that the end of the Ngoni dominance over the Tonga should have coincided with another foreign element entering into Tonga life: it can only have been one or two years after the rebellion that Dr. Stewart, in 1877, and Dr. Laws, in 1878, walked through the area in search of a new site for the station of the Livingstonia Mission.<sup>2</sup> They were not the first Europeans to visit the Tonga, for Livingstone and Young had visited their shores in 1861 and 1875 respectively. But their calls were short and they had no intention of staying permanently or exploring the hinterland. Both visits were marked by some interesting incidents. Livingstone was very hospitably received by MARENGA and he thought that this Tonga chief might be 'friendly to missions'.<sup>3</sup> MARENGA behaved 'like a gentleman' and he and his wife showed their goodwill by spontaneously offering Livingstone the iron bracelets they were wearing, when they learned that such bracelets were not worn or even known in England. Livingstone also had a friendly reception at MANKHAMBIRA's village, which, judging from Livingstone's map, was then still on its old site and not yet in the *lingga* near the Luweya River.<sup>4</sup>

In 1875 the *Ilala*, during the first circumnavigation of the lake, called at MANKHAMBIRA's to load firewood. The Tonga were 'too clever': they carried bundles of firewood on board at one end of the ship, were paid for them, carried them off again at the other end of the ship, and sold them a second time.<sup>5</sup> It must have been on the same trip that Dr. Laws was kept as hostage by Tonga at

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller treatment of this period see 'Tonga History'.

<sup>2</sup> There is no connection between the Ngoni defeat and the arrival of the Europeans.

<sup>3</sup> W. P. Livingstone, 1921: *Laws of Livingstonia*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> David and Chas. Livingstone, 1865: *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries*, John Murray, London, pp. 377-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. D. Young, 1877: *Nyasa: a Journal of Adventures*, John Murray, London, p. 119; *idem*, 1877, 'On a recent Sojourn at Lake Nyasa, Central Africa', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, XXI, July 4, 1877, pp. 225 *et seq.*

Nkata Bay whilst their chief boarded the *Ilala* to have a look round.<sup>1</sup>

The result of Laws' and Stewart's exploration was the opening in 1879 (or 1878 ?) of observation posts at Kaningina and at MARENGA's village at Bandawe. The Kaningina post was soon withdrawn, probably in the same year.<sup>2</sup>

The site of the mission station at Cape Maclear was always meant to be temporary. Laws foresaw that at Cape Maclear, lying on a busy slave route, it would be difficult to adhere to his principle of not becoming in any way associated with or involved in the slave trade. Moreover, he found the place very unhealthy. After exploring the whole of the western shore of the lake his choice fell on Bandawe because it had a good harbour and he thought that the climate would be better; but this turned out to be as bad as at Cape Maclear. Also he found a denser population around Bandawe and less interference from slave dealers.<sup>3</sup>

### THE MISSIONARIES AND TRIBAL POLITICS

The Tonga revolt brought the third period in the history of the Tonga to an end, and the arrival of the Europeans was the beginning of the fourth phase. Both periods are characterized by the dominant influence of a foreign group. But whilst the Ngoni arrived as a military force, the European missionaries not only lacked military backing but they were not even prepared to use force. They had to rely on the art of diplomacy instead. After the experience of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa under Bishop Mackenzie and the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre whose policies and actions caused such a wide controversy,<sup>4</sup> Dr. Laws adopted the principle that his mission should not interfere in the domestic issues of the people among whom they were working nor get involved in the slave trade by receiving runaway slaves or setting slaves free.<sup>5</sup> The Livingstonia Mission authorities not only refrained from using armed force themselves, but neither did they rely on military assis-

<sup>1</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Kaningina Mountain is near Mzuzu, roughly half way between the lake and Ekwendeni. W. Jack, 1901: *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, pp. 139-40.

<sup>3</sup> James Stewart, 1880: 'Observations on the Western Side of Lake Nyasa etc.', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, II, July 7, 1880, London, p. 429; W. A. Elmslie, 1899: *Among the Wild Ngoni*, Oliphant & Ferrier, p. 91; Jack, 1901, p. 140; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 154, 159-63, 169, 196.

<sup>4</sup> The so-called 'Blantyre Scandals' of 1879. Cf. A. Chirnside, 1880, *The Blantyre Missionaries: Discreditable Disclosures*, W. Ridgeway, London.

<sup>5</sup> W. G. Blaikie, 1882: *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, John Murray, London, pp. 248-50; A. E. M. Anderson-Morsehead, 1909: *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1859-1909*, Office of the U.M.C.A., London, pp. 21-42; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 169-74, 186 *et passim*; S. S. Murray, 1932: *Handbook of Nyasaland*, Crown Agents for Colonies, for Govt. of Nyasaland, London, p. 384; A. J. Hanna, 1956: *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp. 18 *et seq.*

ance from the Administration—indeed there was neither an Administration nor an army in the country in those days. Thus, presumably, Tonga and Ngoni did not directly associate the mission with military power.

The Tonga were now no longer under the Ngoni, and not yet under European dominance; and although both these groups made their influence felt upon Tonga society, the relationship between the three groups had the character of 'international relations' between independent political 'powers' who interacted by means of diplomacy or war.

It is generally accepted that the Tonga were saved from extermination at the hands of the Ngoni by the arrival of the mission at Bandawe and especially by the personal influence of Dr. Laws on the Ngoni chief MBELWA.<sup>1</sup> Some writers, like Murray,<sup>2</sup> ascribe the continued existence of the Tonga people to the intervention of the Administration. This, however, is an anachronism, because by the time the Administration was established in this part of the country, in 1897, the danger that the Tonga might be 'annihilated by the Ngoni' had passed.<sup>3</sup> In fact the Ngoni gave so little trouble that the Administration left them alone. And when later, in 1904, Sir Alfred Sharpe, on the advice of Dr. Laws, decided to annex Ngoniland, he could do this peacefully, taking his wife with him but no army—the missionaries had prepared the country for British occupation.<sup>4</sup>

It is doubtful if Dr. Laws' influence would have achieved what is claimed for it if it had not coincided with a general decline of the power of the Ngoni. The insurrection of the Tonga was only the start of a series of attempts by the other subjugated groups to free themselves from Ngoni dominance—some had more success than others. James Stewart in 1879 noticed that the Ngoni had been losing 'both power and prestige within the last two years'.<sup>5</sup> Rivalry between MBELWA and his 'brothers' MTWALO,<sup>6</sup> CHIPATULA and others might have contributed to this decline. But it is possible that the effect of this rivalry was exaggerated by the missionaries, who were not familiar with the Ngoni political structure, of which this rivalry may have been an inherent feature.

The first visits of the missionaries to the Tonga and the Ngoni<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Johnston, 1894: *Report on the first Three Years' Administration of the Eastern Portion of the British Central Africa*, Blue Book, C-7504, Africa No. 6 (1894); Elmslie, p. 94; Livingstone, 1921, 201; Young, 1932, p. 120; F. Debenham, 1955: *Nyasaland*, H.M.S.O., London, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Livingstonia Mission, Letters to the Sub-Committee*, (Edinburgh ?), 1902, p. 64; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 314-16.

<sup>5</sup> James Stewart, 1881; 'Lake Nyasa, And the Water Route to the Lake Region of Africa', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, III, May 5, 1881, London, p. 262; see also Elmslie, pp. 91-4; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 195, 229; Young, 1932, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jack, 1901, p. 158; J. A. Barnes, 1954: *Politics in a Changing Society*, Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, pp. 20-3.

<sup>7</sup> James Stewart, 1879; 'The Second Circumnavigation of Lake Nyasa', *Proc.*

showed what the pattern of the relationship between these three groups was going to be. The Tonga welcomed the missionaries. But the Ngoni had been much more suspicious of the European newcomers right from the beginning. They considered themselves still the masters of the Tonga and did not want the Europeans to settle amongst their erstwhile subjects. Another reason for Ngoni opposition was probably that they wanted a kind of preserve around Ngoniland where they could raid without foreign interference.<sup>1</sup>

The Ngoni also expected the mission to help them in getting their Tonga subjects back. The Ngoni often complained to the missionaries that the Tonga were their subjects who had broken off from them and that they wanted them to come back. According to the records<sup>2</sup> the Ngoni referred to their runaway subjects as their 'children': 'The Tonga [have] . . . run away with our children. we wish you to make them send back our children.' The word 'children' may only mean subjects or followers in general, in the way that a village headman talks about his villagers as his *wana* (sing. *mwana*). But it is also possible that the Ngoni meant literally that the Tonga runaways had 'stolen' some of their own progeny.

One gets the impression from the literature that the Ngoni raiders were particularly interested in female captives and children.<sup>3</sup> This would not be surprising when one considers that the Ngoni had been on trek for more than a generation, undoubtedly losing people on the way in raids and otherwise. Child-bearing women could increase the number of Ngoni-born members of the tribe. There were therefore probably a number of Tonga women who had borne children with Ngoni fathers. The Ngoni men would consider the children theirs and expect them to reside with their fathers according to the Ngoni kinship pattern of agnatic descent. But the Tonga mothers, coming from a matrilineal society, on their departure, would take their children with them, especially if they were still young,<sup>4</sup> assuming that the present rules of kinship prevailed then. Consequently the Ngoni, complaining about the loss of their 'children', probably regretted not only the weakening of the tribe through loss of numbers, but also the personal loss of their own offspring.

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*Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, I, May 5, 1879, London, p. 299; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 159, 162, *et passim*.

<sup>1</sup> The same applied to the Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia, who considered the country of the Shona as their raiding grounds; they did not settle in the area or otherwise colonize it and they did not allow the Europeans to settle there either but wanted them to live in Ndebele country proper, near the headquarters of the king so that he could keep an eye on them: cf. Hilda Kuper, A. J. B. Hughes and J. van Velsen, 1955: *The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia*, International African Institute, London, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Elmslie, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Elmslie, pp. 79 *et seq.*, and Barnes, 1954, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Most of these Ngoni-Tonga children would still be young because at the time of the revolt the Ngoni raids had only been going on for twenty years or so, as the Ngoni settled in their present habitat in the 1850's.



The Ngoni mistrusted the Europeans as possible allies of the Tonga. Laws writes that the Ngoni put the blame for their defeat by the Chinteché stream on the missionaries who, so the Ngoni thought, had supported MANKHAMBIRA with 'war medicine'. And when Tonga started raiding into Ngoniland, the Ngoni suspected that they were being encouraged by the missionaries.<sup>1</sup> The Ngoni, talking about 'medicine', may have been referring to the guns which the Tonga seem to have had. There are no references in the literature to the effect that the Ngoni had guns, too. They seem to have fought with spears only.<sup>2</sup>

An important reason why the Ngoni wanted the Europeans to settle with them (if they were going to settle in that area at all) was that they brought wealth and goods (cloth, beads, soap, etc.<sup>3</sup>), the quest for which caused keen competition among the Ngoni leaders.<sup>4</sup>

When Elmslie wanted to start schools among the Ngoni towards the middle of the 1880's, he was not allowed to because, as he reports, the Ngoni were worried about the effects which the mission's teachings might have upon the morale of the Ngoni warriors.<sup>5</sup> The missionaries had made it clear from the beginning that they did not approve of raids and other forms of warfare.

On the lakeshore, at Bandawe, the relations between the mission and the Tonga were also strained. The Tonga had welcomed the schools<sup>6</sup> and the goods.<sup>7</sup> But they also expected the missionaries to participate fully in Tonga local and tribal politics.<sup>8</sup> Laws was sometimes called upon to arbitrate in a Tonga dispute. It was, however, Laws' firm conviction that they would only be able to maintain themselves in hostile surroundings by a policy of complete neutrality about slaving and by refusing to assume any civil or criminal jurisdiction. Consequently, requests for arbitration were refused and people seeking refuge were not allowed to stay on the mission station, but were told to settle outside its boundaries, where a large camp grew up.<sup>9</sup>

Laws wanted to avoid involvement in the politics and rivalries between Tonga villages or headmen. But the mere presence of a mission station was bound to become a factor in Tonga politics, and to exercise influence upon inter-village rivalries. The mission was not living in a vacuum: they had settled with one particular headman, viz. MARENGA, rather than another; they dispensed medicines,

<sup>1</sup> Elmslie, pp. 95, 237 *et passim*; Jack, 1901, p. 110; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 153, 229, 236 *et passim*; Young, 1932, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Elmslie, p. 101; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 195, 204, 216.

<sup>3</sup> In the eight years from 1875 to 1883 the mission distributed at Cape Maclear, Bandawe, Ekwendeni and wherever they went 500,000 yards of calico; 25 tons of beads; 7 tons of soap; cf. Livingstone, 1921, p. 200; Elmslie, pp. 235, 237.

<sup>4</sup> Elmslie, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Elmslie, pp. 103, 128, 147; Jack, 1901, p. 149; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 200, 216.

<sup>6</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 189; see also p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Laws writes about 'converts to calico'; cf. Livingstone, 1921, p. 190; see also p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> Jack, 1901, pp. 243-5. <sup>9</sup> Livingstone, 1921, pp. 186, 191 *et passim*.

cloth, education, etc.; and they were potential allies in arms—as the Tonga thought and hoped. They were thus a group of people, an institution, for whose goods and services it was worth competing.

The mission was established at MARENGA's village for the reasons mentioned previously; and Livingstone's opinion that MARENGA might be 'friendly to missions'<sup>1</sup> probably also influenced Law's choice of the site. The presence of the station by MARENGA's village added greatly to the latter's prestige—a prestige that has lasted up to the present day. The present MARENGA still boasts: 'We MARENGAS are the friends and protectors of the mission. We are the ones who encouraged the mission to settle in Tonga country.'<sup>2</sup> MARENGA scored over other Tonga headmen not only in prestige: one may assume that he was also better placed as regards getting his share of whatever the mission had to offer. All this gave MARENGA an advantageous position in the competition for power among the headmen. For instance, it seems likely that MARENGA's status and proximity to the station attracted followers who would settle in his village. This, in turn, would enhance his personal status and that of his village even more. It is noteworthy that in the present MARENGA's large village there are several groups of people whose ancestors came from southern Nyasaland or other areas outside Tongaland.

The advantages to MARENGA, inherent in his friendship with the mission, have had a lasting effect upon his political status. In 1917 the Protectorate Administration introduced the system of Principal Headmen among the Tonga.<sup>3</sup> It was no coincidence that from all the Kapunda Banda, on the lakeshore between the Kapeska (or, Lifupa) and the Dwambazi rivers, it was MARENGA who was appointed Principal Headman. This appointment now added Administrative support to the increased political status which MARENGA had already acquired within the Tonga political framework.

Thus the status of MARENGA (and his successors) in the Tonga political structure and the Protectorate Administrative system was to a great extent conditioned by his early contact with the Europeans, even after the mission station had moved to another site.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 3-4. <sup>2</sup> See also Jack, 1901, p. 244. <sup>3</sup> Murray, 1932, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Bandawe station moved in 1926, from MARENGA's to Tipula, about three miles farther north. According to a local informant this site had been 'bought' from the Tonga by a Mr. Stuart, a big-game hunter, shortly after Laws had settled at Bandawe. On his death he bequeathed the Tipula site to the mission. The station kept the name Bandawe after the move. When I arrived in the area to start my field work I encountered deep suspicion, especially when I made it clear that I did not want to stay in the rest house in the District H.Q. but would want to build a temporary hut in a village. One of the arguments against my temporary settlement in a village, i.e. on tribal land, was that I might suddenly claim the site as my own. And I was often told: 'You will just do like that missionary who gave us a gun and some cloth for the loan of a site but later claimed it as his'. This probably refers to Mr. Stuart who was, and still is, associated by the Tonga with the mission to whom he later gave his land; in fact he was not connected with the mission. See Livingstone, 1921, p. 227.

MARENGA and the neighbouring headmen CHIWEYO<sup>1</sup> and CHIMBANO claim a common ancestress. In this family or 'house', HIWEYO's lineage is the senior and CHIMBANO's is the junior lineage. In the light of the present-day political relations<sup>2</sup> between these three headmen (and other headmen in similar situations) I suspect that MARENGA's association with the mission became a new focal point for the potential rivalries between him and the other two. Unfortunately the published records do not contribute anything on his point.

There are, however, indications in the literature that CHIMBANO was rather hostile towards the mission. It was he who once tried to boycott the mission by stopping their food supply.<sup>3</sup> And it was CHIMBANO, too, who actually seized the canoe<sup>4</sup> when some of the Tonga tried to prevent the missionaries from leaving Bandawe.<sup>5</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that CHIMBANO's hostility towards the mission was an expression of his rivalry with MARENGA.<sup>6</sup>

Thus the missionaries played their part in Tonga politics and became agents in the interplay of rivalries among the Tonga leaders, whether they wanted to or not.

The Tonga also wanted the mission to help them against the Ngoni, who were still coming down to the lakeshore. When the Tonga saw that persuasion would not do it they tried to exert pressure upon the missionaries by more forceful means. At one stage the surrounding headmen called off all their people working on the station.<sup>7</sup> On another occasion, when Dr. Laws had refused a Tonga request to fight the Ngoni, the headmen threatened that they would try to get hold of the guns on the station.<sup>8</sup> And once a group of about 400 Tonga men told Laws, 'You must fight the Ngoni for us.'<sup>9</sup>

Obviously the unrest in Tongaland and in the hills hampered the work of the mission, but they were not in a position to side with either party in these hostilities, and they refused all demands by the

<sup>1</sup> He is the CHIKURU of the 1889 treaty: see p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis of modern political trends among the Tonga is in preparation.

<sup>3</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The literature records several acts or expressions of hostility on the part of the Tonga towards the mission. But except in the two cases just mentioned the names of the leaders of this opposition are never given.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly in the Tonga-Ngoni-mission 'triangle' it might be argued that the act of the establishment of the mission station among the Tonga did not necessarily have the restraining influence upon the Ngoni that is often claimed for it. (Cf. Elmslie, p. 94; Young, 1932, p. 126; and other references on p. 5.) On the contrary, it is conceivable that the presence of the mission station was an additional incentive for the Ngoni to raid the Tonga, thus expressing their displeasure with the mission. On at least one raid the Ngoni damaged mission property, when they set a school on fire (see Livingstone, 1921, p. 217). It is significant that the Ngoni often complained that the missionaries were helping with 'medicine', if not encouraging, the Tonga to raid the Ngoni. (Cf. p. 7.)

<sup>7</sup> Elmslie, p. 102; Livingstone, 1921, p. 193.

<sup>8</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

Tonga for armed support. Moreover Laws wanted to work among the Ngoni, too, and he wanted therefore to keep in with them.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the Tonga and the Ngoni were thus interacting through warfare, the mission had to act by means of diplomacy, which lacked the sanction of armed force. Laws tried to arrange peace treaties between the two tribes but the Tonga, who had received the Europeans so eagerly, felt disappointed and perhaps even deceived. They asked, 'Why should your God allow the Ngoni to trouble us?' As for peace treaties with the Ngoni the Tonga argued that, 'You cannot hold a *mirandu* [conference] with a wild beast; you can only go to it with a gun,' and they wanted Laws to give them those guns. The Tonga argument, apparently, had some factual foundation because whatever promises Laws extracted from MBELWA, whom he saw as the sole representative of all Ngoni, these do not seem to have been observed. And MBELWA would excuse himself by saying that the raiding parties went down to the lakeshore without his consent, which may well have been true.<sup>2</sup>

The missionaries at Bandawe and Njuyu (in Ngoniland) were in a very uncomfortable position in this strained situation, which did not show any signs of improvement. At last the climax came in 1887, when Elmslie at Njuyu reported to Laws at Bandawe that the war spirit among the Ngoni was rising, and that MBELWA and/or some other chiefs were ready to send an army down to the lake to punish the Tonga, and to force the missionaries at Bandawe either to leave the country altogether or to come up and live among the Ngoni. It seems that there were some sections among the Ngoni who considered that they had not had their fair share of the material benefits which the mission had brought in the form of cloth and other goods. The leader of one of these sections was MTWALO, the 'brother' and rival of MBELWA.<sup>3</sup> One of the elements in their rivalry was that MBELWA did not want the missionaries to move or work outside his, MBELWA's, area<sup>4</sup> and MTWALO complained that he at his end of the country never saw the Europeans and never received anything from them.<sup>5</sup> By 1887 MTWALO<sup>6</sup> had apparently gathered enough influence and followers to be able to prevail upon MBELWA to send an army to force the hand of the Europeans. MBELWA had, so far, considered negotiation the more profitable course of action.

Laws, at Bandawe, and Elmslie, in the hills, felt more helpless than ever and they decided to get ready to leave their stations if necessary. Elmslie sent some of his possessions down to Bandawe and the rest he buried during the night at Njuyu. Laws at his end, too, got ready to abandon the station. He despatched some goods to Cape Maclear and wanted to send the remainder of the goods, except

<sup>1</sup> Elmslie, p. 99; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 191, 204.

<sup>2</sup> Elmslie, pp. 102, 233; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 159, 191-205, 216.

<sup>3</sup> Jack, 1901, p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Elmslie, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> He lived near Ekwendeni.





those for immediate use, with Mrs. Laws and some other members of the staff to Likoma Island. The Tonga, who stood to lose a great deal if the Europeans left the area, tried to prevent their departure by seizing the canoe in which the goods were loaded.<sup>1</sup> They placed armed guards on all the paths leading out of the station and virtually put the station under a state of siege. Eventually the Tonga were persuaded by Laws to allow him to send off his goods.

Soon afterwards Elmslie sent down a message that war was inevitable, whereupon Laws immediately went into the hills, in a last attempt to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Ngoni. This time he was successful: there was no war; the Njuyu station was allowed to remain where it was and another station was to be opened in MTWALO's area. This agreement was the end of the political troubles between the mission and the Ngoni. Apparently the raids of the Ngoni into the Tonga area also came practically to an end. As these raids had been the main cause of the tension between the Europeans and the Tonga, the position became also easier on the lakeshore. The crisis and its *dénouement* seem to have been the result of a shift in the balance of power among the Ngoni chiefs. MBELWA had hitherto excluded MTWALO, and other chiefs, from the benefits of his dealings with the Europeans. But by 1887 MTWALO's power was apparently great enough to challenge MBELWA's privileged position and to get a slice of the European cake for himself by persuading Laws to open another station in his area.<sup>2</sup>

Although Laws' diplomacy could not have achieved anything, the balance of power in Ngoni internal politics had not altered in his favour, this does not mean that the missionaries, in spite of their policy of neutrality, were wholly extraneous to and not playing any part in tribal politics. Their mere presence as employers of labour and dispensers of European consumer goods had become a factor in both Tonga and Ngoni politics. In fact, as I have just suggested, the mission station at Njuyu in MBELWA's area was a factor in the rivalry between various Ngoni chiefs, such as MBELWA, MTWALO, and CHIPATULA.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, whilst the mission had an observation post at Kaningina in chief CHIPATULA's area for a short period, the latter had tried to exploit the friendship of the Europeans as a support for his own power *vis-à-vis* other Ngoni chiefs.<sup>4</sup>

The same happened on the lakeshore: the presence of the station had become an influence in Tonga politics. The association of the mission with MARENGA rather than with other village headmen became a new focus for the rivalries between these headmen.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For accounts of this crisis see: Elmslie, pp. 232-51; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 228-37.

<sup>3</sup> Elmslie, pp. 129-32, 142, 146, 153, 181; Livingstone, 1921, p. 230. This CHIPATULA should not be confused with the Makololo chief of the same name in southern Nyasaland.

<sup>4</sup> Elmslie, p. 93.

## THE MISSIONARIES AND WAGE LABOUR

In contrast to the initial Ngoni resistance to the mission and mission work, the eagerness with which the Tonga accepted it is most striking. In 1880, before Dr. Laws had begun his work at Bandawe, five boys from MARENGA's village had already left their homes to be educated at Cape Maclear.<sup>1</sup> When Laws started at Bandawe he immediately opened schools. Although the habits and the concepts of the Europeans must have appeared very 'new-fangled' to the Tonga they were quite willing to experiment with them. It is on record that within half an hour of announcing his intention of opening a school, forty children had appeared<sup>2</sup> and the numbers grew daily. In about 1889 there were 1,330 pupils (of whom 700 were girls),<sup>3</sup> and during the second half of 1896 the highest number of scholars present on one day was 5,006 whilst the average daily attendance was 4,361. There were thirty schools each taught up to Standard IV.<sup>4</sup> This expansion was possible only through the system of 'monitors': senior pupils teaching juniors. Education was free except for teachers who paid sixpence per month in their wages in order to learn English.<sup>5</sup> The majority of the schools taught in the vernacular. In 1883 Laws produced the first Tonga primers which he sold for a fowl each.<sup>6</sup>

Laws' idea of the education of the Africans went beyond the requirements for creating a 'Bible-reading and Bible-loving people', beyond even the academic: he saw education as a prerequisite for general enlightenment of the African. He also emphasized the importance of manual training and wanted his schools to train for commerce, industry and agriculture as well as for evangelical and sewing work.<sup>7</sup> When the Rev. MacAlpine<sup>8</sup> arrived at Bandawe in 1894 he found brick houses with wooden door-frames and windows which had been made by Tonga industrial apprentices. There were European agriculturalists and carpenters as well as teachers on the mission staff.

It was not only their industrial and academic training which prepared the Tonga for their participation in a cash economy and the system of wage labour. The European manufactured goods which the mission had introduced had created wants which the Tonga could not easily satisfy at home. Workers were paid in calico, but at the same time Dr. Laws was also making efforts to bring into circulation the £25 which he had brought for that purpose.<sup>9</sup> Familiarity with the use of cash was obviously an important item

Jack, 1901, p. 132; Livingstone, 1921, p. 179.

Livingstone, 1921, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

*Aurora*, I, February 1, 1897, and II, February 1, 1898.

Livingstone, 1921, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Jack, 1901, pp. 118-22.

The late Rev. MacAlpine very kindly wrote to me describing some of his sessions of the early days at Bandawe.

Livingstone, 1921, pp. 209, 226.

in the 'training' for participation in a cash economy. Soon<sup>1</sup> after the opening of the station at Bandawe the African Lakes Company, popularly known as Mandala, started a store at Bandawe, where the Tonga could spend their cash earnings.

I suggest that the apparent readiness with which the Tonga, unlike the Ngoni, accepted some of the new values and institutions and the apparent ease with which they left their villages in search of work soon after their first contact with the Europeans, was due to the fact that the Tonga, unlike the Ngoni, had not much to lose. These circumstances have given the Tonga a lead over many other tribes in Nyasaland and elsewhere in Central Africa. The results of this initial lead are still noticeable in the present day.<sup>2</sup>

When in the 1880's, after the 'conditioning' by the mission, the first opportunities arose for wage labour outside their tribal area the Tonga were ready to go. Towards the end of 1886, only five years after the establishment of the Europeans, Dr. Laws recruited and dispatched the first batch of about fifty labourers to act as porters on the Murchison cataracts section of the Shire River journey.<sup>3</sup> Within a few years the flow of Tonga looking for work and cash outside their area had become regular. In the 1890's Tonga were regularly employed on the estates in the Shire Highlands and not only just as labourers, but also often as 'capitaos' (for men). Sir Harry Johnston reports in 1894 that annually 1,000 to 2,000 Tonga used to come to the Highlands to work on the estates as porters or 'steamer boys', and that they formed the bulk of the 'irregular police' at European stations.<sup>4</sup>

Laws, travelling through the Highlands in about 1894, mentioned '... Tonga lads from the schools of Bandawe, who were occupying positions of trust as engineers and pilots of steamers, overseers of carriers, interpreters and servants', and he noted that '... many of the old pupils were found in the service of the agents of the Administration.' According to the same author there were more than 5,500 Tonga employed in the south altogether.<sup>5</sup>

In the 1880's the African Lakes Company (later called the African Lakes Corporation) was engaged in a war with their Arab rivals for the north end of the lake.<sup>6</sup> In 1888 Mr. (later Sir Alfred) Sharpe

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately I cannot remember the exact date nor the reference in the literature. The Rev. MacAlpine told me that the store was there in 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Although the Tonga had a start over many other tribes in their form of Western education, educational facilities are now much more evenly spread over Central Africa and some areas, especially the urban areas, are now better served.

<sup>3</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 226. For an account of this difficult stretch in the route which linked the Lake Nyasa region with the point of supply at the mouth of the Zambezi, cf. Young, 1877, pp. 45 *et seq.*; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 62-5; *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Johnston, 1894; *idem*, 1897; *British Central Africa*, Methuen, London, pp. 104, 120, 168; Hanna, 1956, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 237, 282, *et seq.*; F. L. Moir, 1923: *After Livingstone*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, pp. xiii, 132, *et seq.*; Murray, pp. 41, 53, *et seq.*; Law, 1934, p. 101; see also Hanna for a recent historical analysis of this war.



joined the Company's army, and he brought up with him 190 Tonga volunteers whom he had recruited at the instigation, and with the help of, Dr. Laws.<sup>1</sup> The Tonga made quite a name for themselves as soldiers. Johnston writes that: 'The Tonga were from the very first the allies of the white man in his struggles against the Arab and Yao slave traders.' Not only did they fight in the North End wars under Sharpe but they were also very prominent in the Yao wars of the 1890's at the south end of the lake, where the Tonga Sergeant-Major Bandawe distinguished himself by his great gallantry. And it was Bandawe, too, who captured, single-handed, the Arab leader Alozi, a feat which put an end to the North End wars. Duff reports that there were also Tonga fighting in the Ashanti campaign of 1900-1 and in other parts of Africa. In 1897 there were three companies (360 rifles) of Tonga.<sup>2</sup>

An editorial article in the *Central African Planter* of November 6, 1897, advocated taxation of the Africans as a means of making them leave their villages and enter European employment. We have seen that conditions in Tongaland were such that the Tonga were quite ready to leave their villages in search of cash without the added incentive of having to earn tax money, since in Tongaland tax was not introduced until 1899. It was the missionaries and not the tax collector who had created the incentives for the Tonga to take part in the European economy. This had not been accidental, or it had been Dr. Laws' professed aim to introduce the Tonga into the European economy by means of education and trade.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE MISSIONARIES AND THE COMING OF THE ADMINISTRATION

It is clear that the missionary factor was of great importance in preparing the ground for the establishment of British rule in Tongaland and, indeed, in what is now the Nyasaland Protectorate.

In 1889 Mr. (later Sir Harry) Johnston, who was consul for Mozambique at the time, went on a treaty-making trip along the western shores of Lake Nyasa and adjacent country in the course of which he also visited Bandawe. Through the mediation of Dr. Laws, Johnston concluded on October 12, 1889, a treaty with some Tonga chiefs. The Tonga signatories ceded their sovereign rights to the British Government by promising British subjects free access to all parts of the country; by allowing them the right to build houses, possess property and engage in trade; and by

<sup>1</sup> Jack, 1901, p. 243; H. L. Duff, 1903: *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, George Bell, London, p. 247; Hanna, 1956, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Johnston, 1897, pp. 130-1, 142; *idem*, N.D.: *Britain across the Seas, Africa*, National Society's Depository, London, p. 241; A. Sharpe, 1897: *Report on the Trade and General Conditions of the B.C.A. Protectorate*, C-8438, Africa no. 5 (1897), London; *Central African Planter*, I, September 1, 1895; Duff, pp. 28, 47; R. C. F. Maugham, 1929: *Africa as I have Known it*, John Murray, London, p. 117, 168 *et seq.*; Murray, pp. 415 *et seq.*; Hanna, 1956, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 144; Moir, pp. 24-5; Laws, 1934, p. 88.

acknowledging the supremacy of British jurisdiction in disputes between British subjects and the Tonga chiefs. The latter also undertook never to cede any of their territory to, or to enter into any kind of agreement with, any foreign government except with the consent of the British Government.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of October 12, 1889, was witnessed by Laws and other members of the mission.<sup>2</sup> Although Hanna quotes Johnston as having made this treaty with twenty-three Tonga chiefs,<sup>3</sup> in fact it is signed by thirteen chiefs only. These chiefs were:

FUKA, a Phiri<sup>4</sup> and a descendant of Kalizongwe who, according to FUKA and other Phiri, was in the area before the Kapunda Banda and who gave them land when the latter arrived from Chewa country in the south.<sup>5</sup>

MPIMBI, KASUNA, who also both belong to the Phiri and who then lived at Matete, just south of Bandawe but more inland. KASUNA is an ancestor of the present village headman CHAVULA.

CHIKURU, whose successor is now called CHIWEYO.

MARENGA, the successor of the MARENGA who received Livingstone so hospitably.

SAWIRA, also known as CHIMBANO.

CHIGOGO, whose successor<sup>6</sup> still lives near Bandawe.

KANYENDA.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 84, mentions that, according to the Jumbe of Kotakota, Moir of the African Lakes Co. had concluded treaties with the Tonga some time before 1885. I have found no other reference to these treaties and, in any case, they do not seem to have conferred administrative authority upon the Company (cf. Hanna, p. 192). Dr. Shepperson drew my attention to a series of treaties which the African Lakes Co. concluded in 1885 with several chiefs all over Nyasaland. Although there is no evidence of a treaty with a chief in the Tonga area, there are some with chiefs in neighbouring areas. From a letter of 1885 from Elmslie to Laws it is clear that the Tonga were aware of the A. L. Co.'s treaty-mongering.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. M. M. V. Leonard at Nkata Bay kindly showed me a copy of this treaty. As far as I am aware there is no other treaty of the same year with Tonga chiefs.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> I should emphasize that although the main political division is between the Phiri and the Kapunda Banda and although this division between headmen and others is traced back by the Tonga to a reputed origin at the time of their settlement in the area, it is by no means certain that those who now call themselves Phiri or Kapunda Banda can in fact trace their descent from the Phiri and the Kapunda Banda of the legends. The distinction between these two groups operates (at present at any rate) almost entirely in a political context only, with special reference to the competition for Administrative appointments in the area concerned, viz. Tongaland south of the Luweya River. As an organizing principle in general, and even in a purely political context only, it is vague and ill-defined; this vagueness is a general characteristic of Tonga society, as I will show in a forthcoming publication.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 2; see also my 'Tonga History'.

<sup>6</sup> By 'successor' I mean not only the immediate successor to a title but also subsequent successors.

<sup>7</sup> Not to be confused with the Chewa KANYENDA who has always lived south of the Dwambazi River. The Tonga KANYENDA used to live in the Matete Valley

DAMBI.<sup>1</sup>

NGOMBO, who is considered by his followers and by many others to represent the most senior 'house' among the Kapunda Banda and who in the 1880's lived in CHINYENTHA's stockade.<sup>2</sup>

CHINYENTHA, who still lives at the mouth of the Luweya River<sup>3</sup> and whose stockade sheltered many groups of people who moved out after the end of the Ngoni raids.

CHIMUZI, a Kapunda Banda.

LONGWE,<sup>4</sup> who at the time of the treaty lived in CHINYENTHA's stockade.

Although this treaty, together with the other treaties which Johnston collected on that trip, had its significance in the wider framework of British-Portuguese colonial policies and the 'scramble for Africa' in general, it did not directly affect the situation in Tonga country. Similarly, when the Protectorate was proclaimed over the northern regions by the lake in 1891, there were no changes inside the Tonga area. The mission remained the sole representative, if not agent, of *Pax Britannica*. There was no British magistrate in the area and taxation was still 'optional'. The principle of Johnston's 'optional taxation' was that the liability to pay tax was one of the conditions which a chief had to accept when he accepted British sovereignty. If a chief was unable to govern or protect his country properly, or if for some other reason the Administration placed police in an area, the people had to contribute towards the expense of the Administration governing the area.

Towards the end of 1893 some Tonga asked Johnston to send a magistrate to reside in the area. But when Johnston informed them that he would be willing to do so provided the Tonga were prepared to pay tax to defray the cost of the administrator's salary, they decided that they did not want to pay taxes. Johnston therefore advised them that they should 'endeavour to get on as well as they can without a resident European Magistrate'.<sup>5</sup>

According to Hanna's account it was *the* Tonga who asked for a magistrate. It is more likely, however, that this request came

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(cf. Stewart, 1879, p. 301) but now he lives near village headman CHIJERE near Tipula on the lakeshore. I do not know where he lived at the time of the treaty.

<sup>1</sup> I assume that this should be DAMBA (LIUZI) whose successor now lives by the Dwambazi River; see also 'Tonga History'. These last six chiefs are all Kapunda Banda (with the possible exception of KANYENDA) and they probably all lived in MARENGA's stockade, except perhaps KANYENDA, during the period of the Ngoni raids.

<sup>2</sup> From here he moved to MARENGA's village and thence to the hills, where he now lives in the neighbourhood of the Chwandama Falls.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> LONGWE was one of MANKHAMBIRA's followers (see p. 2) and he now lives north of the Luweya River. LONGWE is not (and as far as I am aware, he has never been) involved in the political rivalries of the Phiri and Kapunda Banda south of the Luweya.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Hanna (*op. cit.*, p. 234).

from one section of the Tonga only, viz. from some Tonga chiefs north of the Luweya River, after they had observed the material and other benefits which the Bandawe people derived from having the mission in their midst, without paying tax. In fact, I once heard a story from some Tonga of how KANGOMA,<sup>1</sup> one of MAN-KHAMBIRA's followers, went down south to ask for a Union Jack and a magistrate. It should be noted, for instance, when one considers the treaty signatories, that the area north of the Luweya seems to have fallen outside the orbit of the mission, because most signatories lived south of the Luweya River where the mission was situated.

Although the Tonga in their home area were not considered in need of protection, those working on the estates in the south were. In the absence of Administrative authority the status of African labourers in the newly settled areas was largely unprotected. Johnston came to the conclusion that the future of the country lay in the cultivation of coffee, tobacco, etc., 'for which cheap negro labour is necessary, [and] it is before all things essential that this labour should now be placed under proper Regulations'.<sup>2</sup> In 1894 he proposed and enforced some measures regularizing African employment, for example, the prohibition of employing Africans longer than one month except under a written contract.<sup>3</sup> From 1893 the Tonga in the south, together with all other migrants from the north, had to pay for this protection with an annual tax of 3s.

In 1894 some Tonga chiefs concluded, again at Bandawe, another treaty, this time with Mr. (later Sir Alfred) Sharpe. The Tonga signatories now ceded both their sovereign and their territorial rights 'absolutely and in perpetuity and without reservation'.<sup>4</sup> They do not seem to have been aware of the implications of this treaty and thought that they were only doing the same as they had done in 1889. Even to Johnston and the Foreign Office the added significance of this treaty in relation to the previous one was apparently not clear.<sup>5</sup> In any case, as after the previous treaty, the conditions in the Tonga area did not change: the area was still outside the effective rule of the Administration.

The eighteen signatories of the second treaty include all those of the first one except DAMBI, CHIGOGO, CHIMUZI and KANYENDA whose absence I cannot explain. The additional nine names are those of: MUKARANGA, KASUNGA, NGANDA and KAMJUMBA—none of whose names is familiar to me; TSHINJERE, who is probably the same as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Hanna (*op. cit.*, p. 240).

<sup>3</sup> Hanna, 1956, p. 240. These contracts had to be attested by a magistrate and required a revenue stamp of a shilling to be paid by the employer. Apparently the character of this payment was often misunderstood because employers seemed to think that it put the Administration under an obligation to 'recover' labourers who had broken their contract. See *Central African Planter*, December 1, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> A facsimile of this treaty is reproduced in Hanna, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Hanna, 1956, pp. 192-3.



CHIJERE;<sup>1</sup> YAGAMA, TOHOMANI (alias TIHOMANI) and NGURUGURU,<sup>2</sup> all of whom belong to the Kapunda Banda and who lived at one time in CHINYENTHA's stockade; KANGOMA, who is one of MANKHAMBIRA's followers north of the Luweya where he now lives.<sup>3</sup>

It is to be noted that, judging by the names of the signatories of both treaties, the formal, political contacts of the Tonga with the British lay through the mission at Bandawe, and they seem to have been restricted to Tonga chiefs south of the Luweya River, even after the whole of Tongaland had been formally included in the British Central Africa Protectorate. Apparently, the 'sphere of influence' of the mission did not reach much beyond Matete in the south and the Luweya River in the north. The presence of KANGOMA among the 1894 signatories may have been the result of the rivalry between him and MANKHAMBIRA. The present members of the KANGOMA family maintain that KANGOMA arrived first, before MANKHAMBIRA, at their present habitat, north of the Luweya, and that it was really KANGOMA who first built and organized the defence works at the Chinteché stream, later known as MANKHAMBIRA's stockade. (Laws mentions KANGOMA and MANKHAMBIRA as the two principal chiefs in that area.<sup>4</sup>) But MANKHAMBIRA cheated KANGOMA out of his leading position. And it was KANGOMA, so they told me, who went down to Zomba for a flag and a magistrate. It looks therefore as if KANGOMA hoped to gain (or perhaps regain?) a leading position north of the Luweya through association with the British, first directly through the Administration, and when that was unsuccessful, through the mission: hence his signature on the second treaty. MARENGA of Bandawe achieved his leading position among the Kapunda Banda in much the same way.<sup>5</sup>

Another interesting point which emerges from an examination of the names of the signatories is the absence of the name of KABUNDULI. At the time of the Ngoni raids KABUNDULI lived in CHINYENTHA's stockade. Why KABUNDULI's name does not appear on the treaties is not clear, but its absence has some importance in present-day tribal politics. KABUNDULI and his Phiri followers claim that they were first in the area south of the Luweya,<sup>6</sup> and that it is only as it should be that KABUNDULI has been appointed Native Authority over this part of the district. The Kapunda Banda on the other hand maintain that KABUNDULI's home is in the hilly area

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16, footnote 7.

<sup>2</sup> NGURUGURU is also known as GURUGURU. There are now (and there may have been at that time too) two headmen: GURUGURU, who lives inland at Chipaika, near Chwandama Falls, and GURU, who lives on the lakeshore by the mouth of the Kawiya River. The latter claims to be the lineal descendant of, and successor to, the old GURUGURU title, whilst the present GURUGURU claims the same. It is now impossible to obtain a 'true' genealogy, although the political importance of genealogies does not depend on their veracity.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 2. It is certain that, during the period of the Ngoni raids, KANGOMA lived in MANKHAMBIRA's stockade, where he is reputed to have been a brave war-leader.

<sup>4</sup> Livingstone, 1921, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> See 'Tonga History'.

more inland and that the lakeshore area is the home of the Kapunda Banda. The latter are agitating for their own Native Authority, and one of their counter-arguments against KABUNDULI's claim over the lakeshore area is, 'If you have indeed always been the big chief over this area, why did you not sign the treaty?'<sup>1</sup> They do not use this argument only against KABUNDULI himself but also in their requests to the Administration to put KABUNDULI back into his own area in the hills and appoint a Kapunda Banda in his stead for the lakeshore. So after more than half a century the treaties have regained some political significance in the area<sup>2</sup> although in a different political context.

It was not until three years after the second treaty that the Administration was started in Tongaland: Mr. Cardew arrived in February 1897 as the first Resident Magistrate, accompanied by twenty Yao policemen.<sup>3</sup> He settled at Nkata Bay, which is about thirty miles north of Bandawe and well beyond the mission's sphere in those days. In 1902 the District headquarters was moved to Chinteché,<sup>4</sup> about eight miles north of Bandawe and about half way between it and the Luweya. The reason for the move was that there had been some unrest in this part which seems to have been connected with an increase in tax and the behaviour of the Yao police; but the Administration ascribed this unrest to agitation by some members of the mission. Tax was introduced in the District in 1899 at the rate of 3s. per hut per annum. In 1902 a new scheme was introduced whereby a man had to pay 6s. per annum unless he could show that he had worked for at least one month for a European employer.<sup>5</sup>

With the establishment of the Administration among the Tonga, the fourth phase in their history ended, and the fifth and most recent one began. The advent of this new factor in the life of the Tonga did not signify any great change in their external relations. The Ngoni raids were virtually over; the flow of labour migrants was well under way and the Tonga had already taken their place in the Protectorate Administration and army.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Tonga had already become part of the much wider political and economic units of the Protectorate and the Empire before the first Magistrate arrived. But the arrival of the Administration, which would create

<sup>1</sup> The Tonga, in common with many other people in Africa and elsewhere, identify the present incumbents of hereditary titles with their predecessors, and hence this personal question to the present KABUNDULI about an omission on the part of one of his ancestors.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming they had political significance when they were concluded.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Cardew, 1955: 'Nyasaland in the Nineties', *Nyasaland Journal*, VIII, January 1, 1955, pp. 57-63.

<sup>4</sup> Not to be confused with the river Chinteché, north of the Luweya. Bandawe and Chinteché Boma are situated in a narrow strip of flat land between the lake and the hills. This area has always been more populous than the area around Nkata Bay where the hills come right down to the lake.

<sup>5</sup> *Aurora*, Livingstonia, VI, April 1, 1902; Duff, p. 355; Smith, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 14-15.

its own bureaucracy and channels of authority, meant that a new factor had entered tribal politics. How this new factor was incorporated and manipulated within the framework of traditional rivalries and competition for leadership falls outside the scope of this article and will be treated elsewhere.

Here I wanted to point out the importance of the missionary factor in introducing the Tonga into the Western economy which only recently had come to play a role in Central Africa. The importance of mission teaching and guidance, and, in general, the development of the Tonga people, fortunately belie one writer's prognostication that, 'It may safely be said that no amount of education, religious or secular, and no wisdom of administration will ever raise a people from the savage to the civilised state, until the population begins to press on the means of subsistence. Not until then will the struggle for existence force a people to utilise its labour in the production of commodities to exchange for the necessities of life, which its own land no longer produces in sufficient abundance to supply the increasing population'.<sup>1</sup> Even at the time it was written, this was no longer a prognostication, because the actual situation in Tongaland was then, in 1921, already clearly inconsistent with this opinion. Tongaland has never been over-populated, but the Tonga have been contributing labour for the production of commodities for well over half a century.

As in Dr. Laws' days, there is still not much scope in Tongaland itself for the knowledge, skills and tastes which the Tonga initially acquired from the Livingstonia mission. Hence the results of the mission training ('conditioning') are more in evidence abroad where the Tonga work. Considering the size of the Tonga population (about 60,000) in comparison with the total African population of Nyasaland (approx. 2,560,000<sup>2</sup>) and of the Federation of Central Africa (approx. 7,000,000<sup>3</sup>), not to mention South Africa, the Tonga have produced more than their share of trade union leaders, politicians and 'white collar' workers, including many in senior positions in the African Civil Service in Nyasaland and abroad. According to one official report<sup>4</sup> the Tonga people 'seems to have achieved almost a monopoly of many of the best jobs' in South Africa. Whether true or not, this opinion represents the reputation of the Tonga, who are widely known as a go-ahead people.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. S. Murray, 1921: *Census of the Nyasaland Protectorate 1921*, Government Printer, Zomba, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Reports, Nyasaland*, 1955, H.M.S.O., London, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> According to an estimate, in 1957, of the Information Department of the Central African Federation.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial Position and Further Development of Nyasaland* (Bell Report), H.M.S.O., London, 1938, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also H. H. Johnston (1894, *op. cit.*) who calls them 'a race of singular usefulness'; *Report of the Committee appointed by H.E. the Governor to Enquire into Emigrant Labour* (Lacey Report), Zomba, 1936, p. 21; E. Smith, 1937: *Report on the Direct Taxation of Natives*, Crown Agents for the Colonies, for

The effects of the early missionary efforts are also still very noticeable in the sphere of religion, not only abroad but also in the Tonga area itself. There are practically no traces left of their traditional religious beliefs,<sup>1</sup> and nowadays the Tonga as a whole are, nominally at least, Christian, belonging to many different churches and sects. These various modern religious organizations have provided a new framework in which leaders are competing for status and followers. Religious leadership offers opportunities to those who would not have much chance of attaining status in the political system.

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the Government of Nyasaland, London, p. 20; Bell Report, p. 97. Debenham (*op. cit.*, p. 90), in common with many other writers, ascribes this characteristic of the Tonga to outstanding intelligence, obviously confusing education with intelligence. There are no grounds for assuming that the Tonga as a people have a higher degree of intelligence than other tribes, especially if one remembers the heterogeneous origins of the Tonga which implies that they have the same innate endowments as all the surrounding tribes.

<sup>1</sup> For some notes on these beliefs see: A. G. MacAlpine, 1906: 'Tonga Religious Beliefs and Customs', *Journal of the African Society*, V, January 18, 1906, London, pp. 187-90, 257-68, 337-80.



# THE MILITARY HISTORY OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

A Review Article

by

GEORGE SHEPPERSON

Asikali—ee—  
Ku nkhondo—ee—  
(Repeat)  
Amatenga ciwaya,  
Mpeni,  
Khasu lili pambuyo.  
(Nyanja soldiers' song)

Amri ya nani?  
Amri ya Bwana Kapteni.  
Amri ya K.A.R.  
(Swahili soldiers' song)<sup>2</sup>

FOR many, military history is a tiresome subject: the refuge of retired soldiers and the occupation of academic antiquarians for whom 'old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago' exercise a morbid fascination. To the sociologically-minded, it is often hardly anything more than an endless roll-call of battles, casualties and decorations juxtaposed uncritically against each other, with little attempt at order or analysis.<sup>3</sup> The response that the historian's business is as much to chronicle as to analyse, and that a well-made chronicle is sometimes its own analysis is not altogether adequate in the face of such charges: for it must be admitted that the faults which sociologists and social anthropologists have found in the traditional types of historical studies are often seen at their worst in military histories.

It must be conceded at the outset that Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's

<sup>1</sup> *The King's African Rifles. A Study in the Military History of East and Central Africa, 1890-1945.* By Lieutenant-Colonel H. MOYSE-BARTLETT, M.B.E.(Mil.), M.A.(Oxon.), Ph.D.(London). Aldershot: Gale and Polden Ltd. 1956. Pp. xix, 727 (41 plates, 4 maps and sketches in text, 11 folding maps). 30s.

<sup>2</sup> The soldiers are going to the wars. They usually take with them the machine-gun, a knife and an entrenching tool on their backs. . . . Whose orders? Bwana Captain's orders. The orders of the K.A.R.

<sup>3</sup> In one of the few serious sociological works on the subject, Stanislaw Andrzejewski, *Military Organization and Society* (London, 1954), social scientists' neglect of military matters is attributed to 'the insidious utopianism which pervades sociological thinking. Military organization influences social structure mainly by determining the use of naked power. . . . Now most writers are rather peaceful by nature and brute force is a thing which they would like to see exorcised for ever' (p. 1).

bulky volume, for all its conscientiousness and erudition, is not free from such faults. Its prose often reads like an intelligence report, choked with names, dates and places, which can only have a meaning for those who have experienced the particular campaigns to which they refer and which must give to much of his study the character of a work of reference rather than of a book to be read. Its many good descriptive passages (such as the depiction of 2/2 K.A.R. casualties at Medo in Portuguese East Africa, April 12, 1918, p. 393) do not quite compensate for the 'catalogue character' of much of the writing.

In spite of this, it must be emphasized that Colonel Moyse-Bartlett has written an important book and one which deserves greater attention than, to date, it has received. His sheer accumulation of detail about the role of African soldiers in the growth of British power in East and Central Africa cannot but impress. It must surely suggest that here is a field—the effect on the Central African plural societies of European military formations, particularly of the indigenous Africans' service in them—which has been neglected for too long by historians, sociologists and social anthropologists alike.

Admittedly, some social scientists are aware of these problems but, because of the formidable methodological and political difficulties in the way of securing adequate material about them, concentrate on fields which are more readily analysable. Yet the military question is a pressing one: to give but one example, the *machona* of Nyasaland comprise not only those who are torn away from their villages by the pull of the mines and urban life to the south but also that 'lost legion' who, as soldiers and carriers, have been dispersed almost all over Africa by military service.

The reader who comes to Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book with a particular interest in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will find ample evidence of the major part played by British Central Africans in the King's African Rifles. From the Central African Rifles in the 1890's, men from the Nyasa regions have taken the lead in building up this force. 'First in' would be no unfair motto for them: they were the nucleus of the K.A.R.; first to serve in campaigns outside their own country and overseas; among the first K.A.R. soldiers in action in the 1914 and 1939 Wars. Indeed, the record of military service of this small country is strikingly similar to that of its self-imposed god-father, Scotland, which has also, in its time, undergone social changes which are similar in many ways to Nyasaland's.

Perhaps because he is studying the over-all growth of the K.A.R. and not its particular relations with a single region, Colonel Moyse-Bartlett leaves relatively untouched the reasons for the prominent role of British Central Africans in this force. He mentions the relative ease with which Nyasaland was pacified by the British (p. 683) and has something to say about the military qualities of the indigenous inhabitants and their familiarity with firearms before the

coming of the Europeans.<sup>1</sup> But much more could be said about these two basic factors. And, although Colonel Moyse-Bartlett has the admirable aim of revealing 'something of the part played by the African himself' (p. xix) and is obviously much more aware of the wider social, political and economic aspects of his subject than most previous writers in this field, there are several parts of the K.A.R.'s story which can be explained adequately only by reference to the social structures of the tribes from which its African members have been drawn. When Yao and Lakeside Tonga soldiers were chosen as Nyasa representatives for the K.A.R. contingent that went to England for the 1902 Coronation (p. 133), it was symbolic of the contribution of these two tribes to the King's African Rifles. Yet, to explain fully the attractions of military service for them would need many more references to their history than Colonel Moyse-Bartlett provides. Indeed, the fascination of the K.A.R. for the Lakeside Tonga until the money-economy of civilian life proved a counter-attraction (p. 128) is marked—half of the Central Africa Regiment of 1898 was composed of Tonga (p. 27)—and makes one regret that so little serious work by social anthropologists on this important people was available when Colonel Moyse-Bartlett was writing his book.

While he provides many tribal details which will be of use to social anthropologists (e.g. mention of the Yao and Tonga and to a lesser extent of the Mang'anja, Nguru, Cewa and Bemba on pp. 24, 27, 41, 47-8, 128, 133, 137-8, 143, 149, 151-2, 157, 159, 195, 333, 349, 459, 464, etc. etc.), a defect of his work is that the index contains no tribal names and is generally weak on subjects, a serious drawback in so large a book. Furthermore, it is possible that Colonel Moyse-Bartlett has relied too much on the tribal references in official K.A.R. records. Short, however, of a major project of critical analysis over several years, it is difficult to see what else he could have done. Nevertheless, the frequent askari habit of entering himself in official K.A.R. records under a false tribal designation ought to have been noticed. For example, it was at one time quite common for Central Africans of different tribes, seeking the increase in status which they believed the ascription 'Yao' would bring them in the eyes of Europeans, to claim membership of this tribe. It is thus

<sup>1</sup> Two interesting references here are *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, ed. Horace Waller (London, 1874), I, pp. 247-8, 321, especially II, p. 221, Arab possession of 1679 Portuguese cannon, etc.; and John Buchanan, *East African Letters* (Edinburgh, 1880) on the Ajawa (Yao), 'Some of them try their hand at bullet-making; and one man in the neighbourhood of Blantyre is reputed as being able to make a round ball; but by far the commonest ball they make is a slug, about an inch and a half in length, and the diameter of the flint musket. These are said to be the most deadly . . .' (p. 16); see also Buchanan's comparison of Yao and Mang'anja warfare with reference to their social systems (p. 27). Important secondary sources are L. H. Gann, 'The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889-1912', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 16, 1954, pp. 27-51, and *The Birth of a Plural Society . . . Northern Rhodesia . . . 1894-1914* (Manchester, 1958), Chapter I, 71-2 etc.

possible that the Yao are over-represented in some official K.A.R. records.

But it is difficult to over-estimate the significance of the European military machine for the British Central African territories. Not only has it been responsible for diversifying the composition of local societies by bringing into them soldiers from other tribes, sometime from far afield in Africa, but to it may be attributed the introduction of the Indian into Nyasaland (cf. pp. 19-21, 76, 151 and 158) with all that this has meant for the economic life of the area.<sup>1</sup>

It was through its military forces as much as its missions that European culture was brought to the indigenous inhabitants of British Central Africa. It must be remembered, however, that, in the pioneering period, the European military force was not limited to official formations, to the police and those groups which were the forerunners of the K.A.R. It included any person who carried arms and was prepared to use a gun. Furthermore, many settlers and European visitors to British Central Africa in its frontier days, although they were not members of official military or police forces, had had previous military experience.<sup>2</sup> The obvious example of this is the intermittent war from 1888-96 between the employees of the African Lakes Company and the Nyasaland Arabs, in which Captain F. D. Lugard launched himself into the African political scene. Colonel Moyse-Bartlett gives an adequate account of this (pp. 12-23). But there are countless smaller actions between individual or small groups of Europeans, Africans and Arabs in the early days which he cannot because of the circumscription of his theme, even hint at. Thus, his sub-title is slightly misleading: for it is clear that a total picture of the military history of British Central and East Africa in the period of European influence must include not only a more detailed account of indigenous African military organization and ability than he is able to afford but also a substantial sketch of the unofficial European military effort. Guerrilla warfare, whether directed from official centres or the result of sporadic, petty, private actions, characterizes both sides of the frontier, African and European, in the pioneering period. Indeed, this seems to be implicit in Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's statement (p. 11), that 'The governments were largely military in character during those early years, though their armed forces were left to develop out of makeshift arrangements devised upon the spot'; and in his comment in a Uganda context that be-

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Harry H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 98, 100, 119, 20, 129, 147, 152, 177; also Johnston's engaging picture 'Zomba: the Sikhs in their quarters', facing p. 193 in Roland Oliver, *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa* (London, 1957).

<sup>2</sup> In this respect, Richard Sampson's useful, *They Came to Northern Rhodesia. Being a record of persons who had entered what is now the Territory of Northern Rhodesia by 31st December, 1902* (Lusaka, 1956) is slightly misleading: the statement on p. 48, 'Why They Came', restricts the military to declared B.S.A. Police and B.C.A. Forces, although it is clear that many of the persons in his fascinating list on pp. 1-37 bore weapons, acted from time to time in a military capacity, and had sometimes had previous official military experience.



ause regular troops usually had to be supplemented by levies from friendly tribes 'the campaigns often differed but little from the inter-tribal warfare of former times' (p. 62).

The narrowness of the line between the civilian and the military in the government of the British Central African territories for at least the first generation of British control is shown clearly in his book. A good example of this is the career of Lieutenant W. H. Manning (35th Sikhs) who went out to British Central Africa in 1893 with a draft of a hundred Sikhs and remained to become the first Inspector-General of the K.A.R. in 1901 and Governor of Nyasaland from 1910 to 1913.

A striking manifestation of the influence of the European military mode in African symbolism is to be seen in the *mbeni*, *malipenga*, *mganda* and *kalela* dances which have been the subject recently of a stimulating short study by Professor J. Clyde Mitchell.<sup>1</sup> Symbols drawn in varying degrees from the Army are a prominent feature of such dances. Professor Mitchell traces their origins to a pantomime, sometimes as satire, more often as wish-fulfilment, of the European military hierarchy before the 1914-18 War, if not earlier.<sup>2</sup> His statement that *mbeni*, with its Zomba origins, is a Nyasaland corruption of 'band', and that this 'seems a reasonable explanation of the origins of the word . . . for . . . an essential feature of the dance was a mock military band'<sup>3</sup> is corroborated, by implication, in Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's appendix on bands, in which the fascination of the first K.A.R. band, founded at Zomba in 1906, is described:

Those natives who have visited Zomba during the past year [wrote the Commissioner in his report for 1906-7] have had the advantage of also being able to listen to the brass band of the King's African Rifles, an innovation which has materially enlivened the social life of Zomba. The brass band appeals to the native visitor (for the Nyasaland negro has undoubted musical proclivities) and they generally prefer the music to the mysteries of the electric light or telephone (p. 694).<sup>4</sup>

It is, perhaps, also worth noting about the Lakeside Tonga *malipenga* dances that *lipenga* means 'a bugle'.

Of course, Colonel Moyse-Bartlett could not be expected to deal with these social aspects of the K.A.R., though one hopes that, if a revised edition is called for, he may be persuaded to add to his valuable appendices a selection of K.A.R. songs, for these are important evidence of African response to the European-style military life. Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's only reference to K.A.R. songs has interesting socio-economic implications. He notes that in the action at Narunyu, August 10-19, 1917, the German and Nyasa askaris were so close that they could call across to each other. 'Sometimes the K.A.R. askaris would taunt their enemy with "fighting for

<sup>1</sup> *The Kalela Dance* (Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, No. 27, 1956). Cf. also R. J. B. Moore, *These African Copper Miners* (London, 1948), pp. 52-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalela Dance*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See also p. 151, paragraph 4.

nothing'' and sing impromptu songs on the advantages of being British soldiers' (p. 373).

Another example in the realms of the symbolical and etymological may be introduced by a reference to the revealing picture of *mganda* dancers (Plate XVIIIa) in Professor Frank Debenham's *Nyasaland* (London, 1955). Here the dancers are drawn up in threes in strict military formation. This reminds the present writer of the way in which British military parlance had been transmuted into Nyanja which he encountered when censoring his platoon's letters home during the last War. One African had written to his wife to instruct her to sell the goat (*mbuzi*) *wa balagfaer*. After much study and cross-questioning it was revealed that the *mbuzi wa balagfaer* meant 'the spare goat': *balagfaer* was an African corruption of 'blank file' or the 'spare' file that is left in the middle of a column of threes when there is one man short.<sup>1</sup>

Such examples could be multiplied of the impression which the military life has made on the Africans of British Central Africa. From Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's accumulation of detail, however, one aspect of this seems to stand out before all others: the importance of the African's service outside his own territory and in wars of European origin. Although, for those who cared to seek it, at least skeleton data about British Central Africa service with the K.A.R. in wider fields was available,<sup>2</sup> it still comes as a surprise to many to learn that British Central African soldiers had served before 1908 outside their own territories not merely in police actions in the neighbouring British South Africa Company areas but overseas in Mauritius and the Ashanti Wars in the Gold Coast and in East Africa and Somaliland, in full-scale campaigns against the Mad Mullah, as well as against the Nandi in the 1905 rebellion and against a number of recalcitrant tribes on the northern frontier of Kenya. The historic tragedy of the 2nd K.A.R. at the Gumburu battle of April 17, 1903, in Somaliland, when two companies of Africans were 'practically wiped out' and 'no European lived to describe the disastrous action' when 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot of the Mullah's dervishes attacked little more than two K.A.R. companies (pp. 178-9) shows in no uncertain fashion the military burden that was borne by the Nyasaland K.A.R. It did not pass unnoticed at home; and it is a pity that Colonel Moyse-Bartlett did not include somewhere in his book a reference to Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand's moving account of the episode.<sup>3</sup>

The subject of the British Central African overseas is clearly of the highest importance. It is, perhaps, significant that the Central African who appears to have been the first to encounter the wider

<sup>1</sup> *wa* = of.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. S. S. Murray, ed., *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (Zomba): 1922 edition, pp. 259-61; 1932 edition, pp. 416-19.

<sup>3</sup> *African Assignment* (London, 1953), pp. 87-8. Cf. also *Life and Work in British Central Africa* (Blantyre), No. 186, September, 1904, p. 1.

world in this way was a Yao and that he was taken abroad by a military man. In 1862, Colonel (later General) C. P. Rigby, British Consul at Zanzibar, took home with him on leave a freed slave from the country 'between Lake Nyassa and the coast',<sup>1</sup> Francis George Tembo, who, after some years in London at a convent school and as a personal servant of the Rigbys, returned to Zanzibar and later, in 1893, accompanied Sir Gerald Portal on his expedition to Uganda. From this time onwards, Africans from the British Central African territories went abroad in greater numbers than is generally realized. Not all of them, apparently, went eagerly, as Colonel Moyse-Bartlett suggests in his account of the voyage to Mauritius in 1899 of the 2nd Battalion, Central Africa Rifles, 'somewhat under strength owing to desertions by the way by those whose hearts failed them at the prospect of crossing the sea' (p. 29). The use of 'Stima' or 'Sitima' (Steamer) as a British Central African Christian name, however, indicates the fascination which the new European modes of transport held for Africans: one heroic Corporal Stima is noted by Colonel Moyse-Bartlett (p. 353). Most Africans, until after the 1914-18 War, went outside their territories of origin with the K.A.R. An example here is Sergeant Kashema, 'Northern Rhodesia's oldest African soldier',<sup>2</sup> who died recently in Lusaka at the age of 98. He joined the K.A.R. in 1890, fought in the later Ashanti campaign, against the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, in Jubaland, in the Nandi and Kisii expedition in Kenya and in the 1914-18 War. An outstanding example in the non-military field is John Chilembwe, Yao leader of the 1915 Nyasaland Native Rising who spent two-three years in America. In spite of his civilian status, Chilembwe was a careful observer of the intrusion of the European military machine into the local African societies; and, from the employment of Nyasas in the Ashanti and Somaliland campaigns in the early 1900's to their extensive use in the 1914-18 War, made a number of searching observations of the effect of this process on African life.<sup>3</sup>

What Colonel Moyse-Bartlett has to say of the tremendous contribution of British Central Africans to the 1914-18 War effort in East and Central Africa will come as a revelation to many. Here is

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Charles E. B. Russell, ed., *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, with Journals, Dispatches, etc.* (London, 1935), pp. 282-3. The reference on p. 282 to 'the Irahow' is clearly a phonetic mis-spelling of Yao: cf. p. 226 for 'the rich Jhahow country', p. 333 ('Miyan') and p. 347 ('Tyahow') for similar erratic, phonetic spellings of 'Yao'. In *The Illustrated London News*, July 4, 1863, pp. 21-3, there is an article on this episode, 'Negro boys of Central Africa', with an engraving of Tembo on p. 21. Here 'Yao' is given another spelling: 'Wahujow'. Colonel Moyse-Bartlett (p. 113) has an interesting note on the dispersal of the Yao as far afield as Jubaland by the 1890's: 'The Goshia region, a strip of forest country about 100 miles long, inhabited by runaway slaves of mixed origin, including Yao and other tribes from Nyasaland. These people were known collectively as the Wagoshia'.

<sup>2</sup> *East Africa and Rhodesia* (London), January 16, 1958, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> George Shepperson and Thomas Price, *Independent African* (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 133, 143, 234-5, 415.

a subject which, in future years, should engage the attention of historians, sociologists, novelists and dramatists—perhaps even poets for it is epic in quality. This is apparent from Chapter 13 of Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book in which the pursuit of von Lettow's army through Portuguese East Africa from November, 1917, to November, 1918, is graphically described. In particular, the role of the 1st Brigade or 'Kartucol', with its three Nyasaland battalions in 'its gallant pursuit of 1,600 miles through the forest and swamps of Portuguese East Africa, in the course of which twenty-nine large rivers had been crossed and thirty-two engagements had been fought' (p. 409) deserves special mention. The whole story is full of episodes which various specialists should find fruitful. There is, for example the tale of the action at Medo on April 12, 1918, in water-logged conditions and in face of a full-scale German counter-attack.

In these conditions Lance-Corporal Sowera, D.C.M., of 2/2 K.A.R. decided to climb a tree with his Lewis gun, where he remained nearly all day doing excellent work while his No. 1 handed up the drums from below. The tree was repeatedly hit and on one occasion a burst of machine-gun fire lopped off a branch above his head. Later on Sowera took command of a section that had become shaky after losing its N.C.O. and danced an *ngoma* up and down the firing line to hearten his men (p. 392).

In view of what has been said earlier about the connection between the military and *malipenga* dances, it may be worth noting that the name of the *ngoma* dancer under fire, Sowera, means in Nyanja 'a game'!

In only one place does there appear to be any serious deficiency in Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's account of Central African participation in the 1914-18 East African campaign: his treatment of the *tenga-tenga* (carriers). Although he has some references to these (pp. 260, 350, 362, 479), it is significant that, unlike the *ruga-ruga* ('armed followers'), they do not appear in his glossary. It was admitted by General Smuts and others that 'it was the *tenga-tenga* who won the campaign';<sup>1</sup> yet their military importance and the hardships they suffered do not emerge clearly from Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's pages. Perhaps this is because the carriers were an irregular part of the K.A.R. Nevertheless, they supplied the greater part of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia recruitment<sup>2</sup> during the Great War and the impression of the wider world which they took back to their villages deserves serious investigation. Documentation is undoubtedly difficult; but many of them are still alive and there are, of course, the memories of their stories in the minds of their sons, many of whom

<sup>1</sup> C. P. Lucas, ed., *The Empire at War* (Oxford, 1924), IV, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> For figures, see Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15, 270-2, 295-6; W. V. Brelsford, ed., *The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* (Lusaka, 1954), p. 48. C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (London, 1958), IV, pp. 66-8, has a useful general account of the various African carrier corps employed in the 1914-18 War. For a moving tribute by a Blantyre missionary who was killed on active service, see Alexander Hetherwick, ed., *Robert Hellier Napier in Nyasaland* (Edinburgh, 1925), pp. 142-8.



are now 'politically conscious' in the European meaning of those terms.

In the investigation of the wider world which military experience opened up progressively to Central Africans from the 1860's to the Burmese and Malayan campaigns of the 1940's, it should not be forgotten that, through migration to South Africa, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Africans have served in South African units. Some, indeed, appear to have gone to France with these during the Great War.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect, a limitation of Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book is that it does not make clear the ramifications of his subject into the Rhodesias. His bibliography, for example, has no mention of J. F. Macdonald's official *War History of Southern Rhodesia* (1947) or *The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* (Lusaka, 1954), edited by W. V. Brelsford. Writing in this latter work, Mr. Brelsford notes that 'There has always been speculation as to why, in 1933, the military forces of Northern Rhodesia did not become a branch of the King's African Rifles, because the forces of all the other territories in East and Central Africa had become King's African Rifles' (p. 70). In spite of some references to the Northern Rhodesia Police and Regiment, Colonel Moyse-Bartlett is not illuminating on this matter, so that, to adapt Mr. Brelsford's words, 'the real reasons which swayed the official decision are not [yet] known'.

Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book covers such a wide range that it is not difficult to draw attention to topics which he does not discuss adequately. He has little to say about the acute social problems of demobilization: a brief reference (p. 452) to them after 1918 and nothing for World War II. Admittedly, Colonel Moyse-Bartlett was not writing a general war history; but his lack of attention to these important problems shows the dangers of the regimental approach in the writing of military history. Moreover, his treatment of African discontent leaves something to be desired. While his picture of the popularity of military service amongst Africans in Nyasaland at the beginning of the Great War (p. 301) is in the main correct, he has nothing to say of the opposition to it: for instance, the reluctance of the Ngoni chief, Mbalekelwa, or Chimtunga as he was more often known, to supply carriers and food for the northern campaigns against the Germans.<sup>2</sup> Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's account of the 1915 Chilembwe Rising repeats the incorrect official war histories' story of its Watch Tower inspiration;<sup>3</sup> though, in another place (p. 195), his quotation from a 1914 intelligence report, full of unrealistic optimism, to the War Office helps one to understand why the Rising took the authorities by surprise. Yet, elsewhere (e.g. pp. 29-30, 124-6, 136, 139, 142, 152-4, 156, 158, 195, 267, 568, 577 and Chapter 15), Colonel Moyse-Bartlett gives from official records

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Donald Fraser, *The New Africa* (London, 1927), pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Shepperson and Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 366, 408, 466-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-2, 324-6, 417.

—to which he is one of the few writers to have had access—details of African discontents which are not otherwise easily available. And, in his account (pp. 25–7) of the part played by the Central Africa Regiment, the forerunner of the K.A.R., in the defeat of the Angoni rebellion which broke out in North-Eastern Rhodesia in December, 1898, he provides a valuable supplement to the brief description of this in *The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* (pp. 9–10).

Furthermore, in a detailed work of such extensive scope, there must be many small points which are incorrect. One such occurs at the end of the book (pp. 661–2) where Colonel Moyse-Bartlett implies that there was only one infantry company ('B') from the 13 (Nyasaland) K.A.R. in 'Tickyforce' which carried out the last operations of the 11 (E.A.) Division in Burma in December, 1944. As a member of 'D' Company in this dusty patrol, the present writer must bear witness that the official records appear to have misled Colonel Moyse-Bartlett here!

Since his study was published, there have been significant developments in the history of the King's African Rifles. The 1st and 2nd (Nyasaland) Battalions have become part of the forces of the Central African Federation; provision has been made for a new African rank, 'effendi', senior to African Regimental Sergeant-major; a Muluhya has entered Sandhurst to be trained for a commission in the K.A.R.; a K.A.R. contingent—alas, with no Central Africans—took part in the 1957 Edinburgh Tattoo. At the same time new books have appeared which add fresh details to Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's story: notable amongst these are Margery Perham's *Lugard. The Years of Adventure, 1858–1898* (London, 1956); R. Meinertzhagen's *Kenya Diary, 1902–6* (Edinburgh, 1957) which has a dramatic picture of the 1905 campaign against the Nandi rebellion in which British Central African askaris took part and provides a defence of his action by the officer who shot the Laibon Koitalel, 'an unfortunate incident' by which, according to Manning, 'the reputation for fair dealing of the British had been called in question' (Moyse-Bartlett, p. 202); the Earl of Lytton's *The Desert and the Green* (London, 1957); and Volume IV of C. P. Groves' *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, with its valuable first two chapters on the effects of the First World War on Africa and the Africans. And articles and reminiscences continue to be published which ensure that a revised edition of Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book will not lack material.

His bibliography and references afford a most useful map of sources, public and private, primary and secondary, for the military history of British Central Africa up to 1945, from which the historian and the social anthropologist, even if they are not directly interested in military matters, will be able to cull a mass of details to illuminate many studies. The main defect of his bibliography seems to be its account of periodicals: it does not mention such periodicals

s *The Nyasaland Journal* or *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, which often contain materials on military matters and their social implications; nor does it list the journals which have been published by members of the K.A.R. themselves, such as *Jambo*, *Ulemu*, *Heshima* and the ephemeral publications of individual K.A.R. units of which *The Guinea Fowl*. *The Journal of the 2nd (Nyasaland) Battalion of the King's African Rifles* is typical. Although such periodicals often contain trivialities, it is from the accumulation of these that charts of events and the lines of force which run through them may often be discovered.

Finally, it must be noted that this history of the King's African Rifles commends itself most because of its serious treatment of the African contribution. With the one exception of a rather ambiguous reference to 'African . . . intelligence' (p. 682), there is little paternalistic or condescending in this volume—which is what one would expect from the Secretary of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. In the best sense of the word, the askari appears as a mercenary (pp. 681–2), which provides a note of realism that is often lacking in similar accounts.

Sometimes, this may have amusing overtones: for example, the story that

Even before 1911, when the unfortunate disbandment of the 2 K.A.R. led to so many well-trained askaris taking service under the German flag, it was known that the German garrison at Neu Langenburg was largely recruited in British territory. So many ex-K.A.R. askaris were serving there that the English bugle-calls and words of command were in regular use (p. 265);

or the anecdote that the former German askaris who became the nucleus of the 1/6 K.A.R. were put so quickly into the field that the officers had to learn German methods and words of command and 'use them until operations were over' (p. 354).<sup>1</sup> Yet such stories are more than jokes: they can also be parables of the whole process of the European division of East and Central Africa.

And, in the words of A. E. Housman's epitaph on another army of mercenaries, for which Colonel Moyse-Bartlett's book gives ample evidence, there have been supreme moments for these African soldiers when

Their shoulders held the sky suspended;  
They stood and earth's foundations stay:  
What God abandoned, these defended,  
And saved the sum of things for pay.

<sup>1</sup> See also p. 153, paragraph 1; 321, paragraph 1; 442, paragraph 3.

## PLATEAU TONGA ENTREPRENEURS IN HISTORICAL INTER-REGIONAL TRADE <sup>1</sup>

by

M. P. MIRACLE

WHAT I shall call Tongaland is a triangular stretch of the Northern Rhodesia Plateau with a base of roughly 80 miles and a vertical axis of 120 miles that lies between the towns of Kafue in the north and Choma in the south.<sup>2</sup> Administratively, it is Mazabuka and Choma Districts. It is bisected diagonally by the railway connecting Lusaka and Livingstone and is comprised of both European crown land and farms, found near the railway generally, and land reserved for Africans, most of whom are Tonga, or Plateau Tonga as they are more precisely called to distinguish them from the Tonga of the Zambezi valley. References in this article to Tonga, without qualification, refer to the Plateau Tonga.

Besides the Plateau Tonga, Ila and Lundwe are found in the north-western part of the area near the Kafue river; along the river banks a few Twa are encountered; a small Ndebele settlement exists near Monze; and a few individuals of many tribes are to be found in towns and among the fishermen of the Kafue river.<sup>3</sup> But the great bulk of the population is Plateau Tonga; in fact, past researchers have typically confined themselves to Mazabuka and Choma Districts alone when studying the Plateau Tonga, even though some authorities estimate they represent less than half of the total Plateau Tonga area.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article is based largely on data supplied by 74 informants between July 29 and September 10, 1959, all of whom claimed to be old enough to remember what happened before European rule (roughly prior to 1900). See map facing page 37 for the major locations where field work was done. I wish to express my gratitude to W. J. Argyle for his aid and hospitality while I was among the Soli making a brief check on Tonga accounts; and I should like to thank both him and R. J. Apthorpe for their criticisms of an earlier draft of the article. The research resulting in this article was done under a fellowship granted by The Ford Foundation; however, all conclusions, opinions, and other statements presented are, of course, those of the author, and not necessarily those of The Ford Foundation.

<sup>2</sup> See map.

<sup>3</sup> At a census taken by a Fisheries Officer in September and October, 1958, there were 44 tribes represented among the Kafue fishermen, coming from as far afield as Mozambique, Tanganyika, the Belgian Congo, and Angola (Northern Rhodesian Government, 1958b).

<sup>4</sup> See Allan, 1948; the work of Elizabeth Colson on the Plateau Tonga, a large part of which is found in previous issues of this Journal, in Colson, 1951 and 1958; and Johnson, 1956 (Prior to 1950 Mazabuka District included what is now Choma District). For definition of the area occupied by the Plateau Tonga, see Northern Rhodesia Government, 1958, or Brelsford, 1956.

Rainfall of the region ranges from 18 to 35 inches annually; it varies greatly from one locale to the next (Colson, 1951, p. 97); and it is not dependable from year to year in any particular locale. It is concentrated in a single period, usually extending from late October or November until March. Within this period, precipitation is irregular and not infrequently is so lacking in January or February that drought is experienced.

Temperatures are moderated by the altitude, which varies from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level; the mean monthly maximum rarely exceeds 85° F.; the minimum is typically in the range of 55–60° F. Frost is known but rare (Colson, 1951, p. 97).

Three seasons are recognized: the rainy season already mentioned; the cold season, which prevails between the end of the rains and August; and the hot season, which extends from August until November. The best soils are described as moderately fertile and range from relatively sandy, acid soils, to fairly heavy loams of less acid reaction (Allan, 1948, p. 24). The vegetation varies from woodland to scattered trees and bush, interspersed with grass of from two to four feet in height at maturity, and even patches of treeless grassland.

The African population of the two districts was estimated at 134,224 in 1957 (Northern Rhodesia Government, 1957a and 1957b). Population density was estimated at 58 per square mile for the two districts together in 1945, the latest date for which data are available, and ranged from 42 in Chongo to 138 in Mwanachingwala Chieftaincy (Allan, 1948, p. 30).

#### ENTREPRENEURS OF THE PRE-EUROPEAN ECONOMY

It is extremely difficult, or impossible, for the tribal elders to date, even roughly, events before European administration. The period to which their accounts relate can be defined no more precisely, in most cases, than within living memory but before European rule was firmly established. This would be the last quarter of the nineteenth century, approximately.

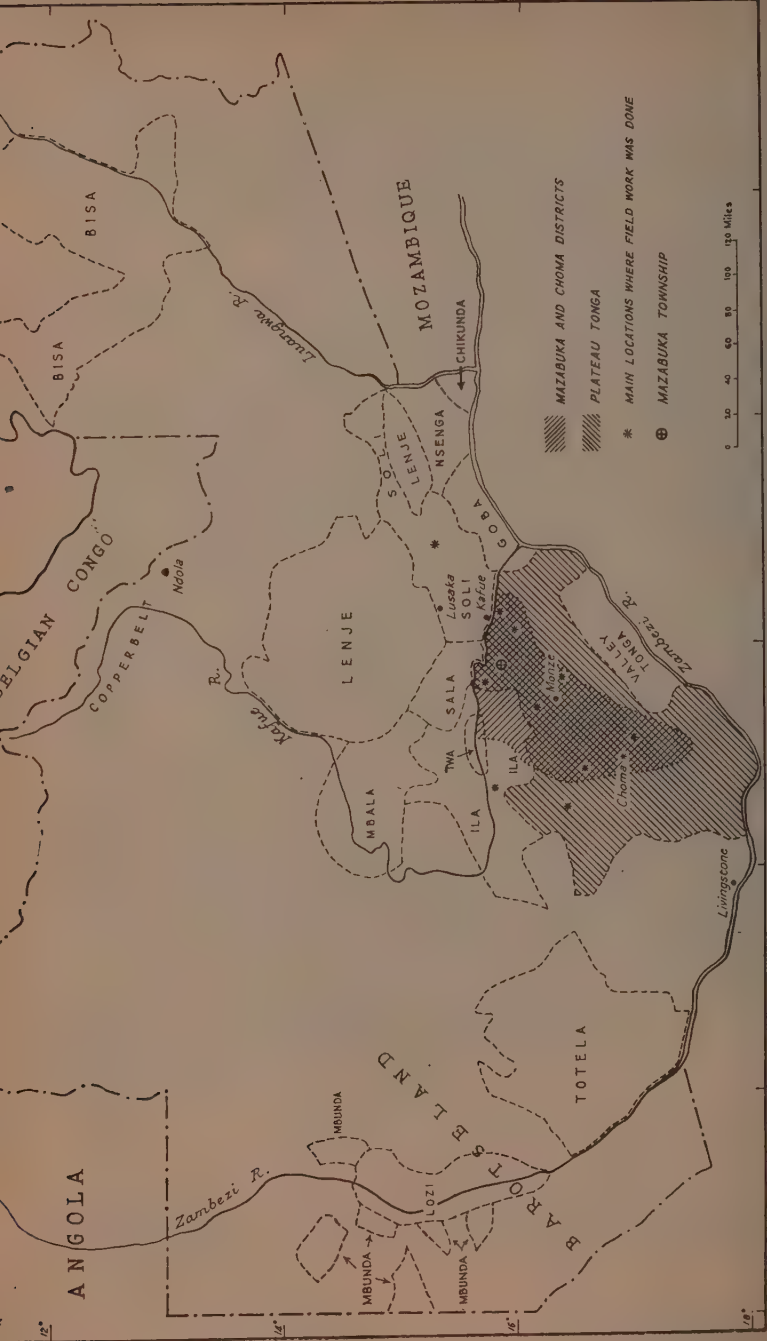
##### *The Economy*

During this period, what are now Mazabuka and Choma Districts yielded their inhabitants an abundance of game and fish, numerous wild roots, tubers, and fruits, and salt. Supplementing these were a few domesticated plants and animals. Sweet potatoes, millets and sorghum<sup>1</sup> mostly the latter—were the most important sources of calories and constituted the main starchy-staples of the diet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Millets and sorghum were bulrush millet (*Pennisetum spicatum*), finger millet (*Eleusine corcana*), and Kaffir corn (*Holcus sorghum*).

<sup>2</sup> Cassava (*Manihot utilissima*), also called manioc, which has become a minor, but noteworthy, crop in some parts of the area in recent years, was new to the Plateau Tonga. Men remember when on trading expeditions they first observed





The Location of Tribes and places mentioned in the text

Maize, which now over-shadows all other staples by a wide margin, was of only slight importance; although occasionally made into *isima*, the stiff, dough-like porridge that was the principal staple fish, it was mainly consumed as a vegetable—as green mealies or as roasting ears, i.e. boiled or roasted immature grains.) Groundnuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, and tobacco were grown. Poultry, goats, sheep, and cattle were kept, and dogs were used in hunting.

The technique of production was simple. In combining factors of production the portion of land and labour were large and capital small. Hoes, axes, spears, and crude knives were about the only tools used in obtaining foodstuffs and the few other raw materials desired. Little capital was invested in processing; for the most part, foodstuffs were crushed between two stones or in a wooden mortar with a pestle made of a heavy wood, which with baskets made of wild plants, and earthen pots, constituted the main items of processing equipment. The scale of production was small and was very much a function of one's labour supply since the technique of production was labour intensive. Often the producing unit consisted of merely a man, a wife or two, their unmarried children, and possibly a slave.

Although there was scope for sizeable differences in wealth, depending on one's initiative and luck in inheritance, disparities in affluence were kept small by social obligations and the system of inheritance. Once a man edged ahead of his kinsmen, they tended to 'descend on him' and live at his expense for considerable periods, at the same time taking a heavy toll in loans and gifts. If death found a man relatively wealthy in spite of his kinsmen's efforts and needs, custom ensured that they would get their due: it was, it seems, a man's matrilineal kinsmen, and not his wives or children, who inherited from him. Also, a fraction of his possessions were destroyed as part of the funeral rite.

Cattle, and to a lesser extent, sheep and goats, appear to have been the most important category of investment; wives came second; and slaves probably third.

There is good reason for the predominant position of cattle:

it in Barotseland and they describe with animation how they stuck stems of this new plant through their hair where it remained until Tongaland was again reached. Some say its introduction was as late as the first decade of the present century. Others think it was two or three decades later. Whatever the timing was, there is consensus that both the sweet and the bitter type (without lengthy processing the latter can be poisonous) came via trade with Barotseland. Most state that the former came first, and this is what one would expect *a priori*, for transmittal of efficient techniques for purging the harvested roots of the bitter variety of their poisonous hydrocyanic acid seems typically to have lagged much behind the plant's introduction in other parts of Tropical Africa (see Jones, 1957, pp. 109-10). The Tonga account of how they obtained cassava is another piece of evidence supporting the hypothesis that cassava reached most Central African tribes from the West, and that its spread has been a slow one in which three centuries or so were required to cross from the ancient kingdoms around the mouth of the Congo river to Northern Rhodesia (Jones, p. 104 ff.).

They contributed to production as a source of milk, meat, and hides. They were probably the investment with the greatest rate of return then, as they seem to be now. With no wheeled transport available, cattle were an attractive means of conserving one's output because they were mobile. Further, a large herd of cattle was a reserve, the existence of which was an effective means of reducing the risk associated with production: there seems to have been a precautionary motive behind the propensity to invest in cattle.

Drought or disease and pest epidemics could devastate Tonga fields and gardens, but even if local pastures, as well as crops, were ruined, cattle could always be driven to grazing areas which were less severely damaged, or could be traded for food with a more fortunate neighbour. (This was done apparently because cattle were dear compared with any other food; therefore, if one was hungry and had cattle, it was sensible to exchange them for other edible products rather than consume them.)

Wives were an important category of investment because they made up the bulk of the labour force. Land could usually be obtained merely by working it, and implements seem to have been easily acquired, and in any case were relatively inexpensive. Expanding production, then, was mainly a matter of procuring additional labour. Wives contributed to the labour supply directly by assisting in cultivation, and indirectly by bearing children. If children were girls they would help their mothers; if boys their duty was herding cattle. Thus, additional wives made possible an expansion of one's herd, inasmuch as it increased the probability that one would have a sufficient number of herd boys.

Female slaves appear to have been economically practically identical to wives, but seem to have been roughly 50 per cent more expensive. (A typical rate of exchange quoted is 12 hoes for a female slave, and 10 for a male. Total payments of bridewealth usually amounted to 8 or 9 hoe equivalents. Spears, goats, and cattle, as well as hoes might make up the payment, but some hoes had to be included.)

The major sources of capital, and the only ones recorded, were one's kin, which might give loans without interest or gifts, and the profits from commerce.

### *Distribution*

Tribute, fines, inheritance, social obligations, and inter-tribal barter were the main means by which production was distributed and items of consumption received.

During the last part of the nineteenth century, beginning with the accession of Chief Lewanika in 1878 (Brelsford, 1956, p. 8), the Plateau Tonga were forced by the Lozi to pay tribute. They also remember obligations to supply the necessities of local chiefs; but this custom varied considerably by locality and seems to have ranged in form from formal tribute to voluntary gifts.

In dispute involving one's person or property, fines were levied against the offender, if judged guilty, and paid to the offended party. Other fines were payable for disturbance of peace during enactment of rain rituals or harvest ceremonies, and such were distributed among the elders of the community (Colson, 1951, p. 154).

The significance of inheritance and social obligations have already been touched on. Loans to one's kinsmen often took the form of cattle, and if there were not requests for the greatest part of one's herd, cattle would usually be exchanged with friends or relatives. Any particular individual often had the majority of his beasts in the herds of others, and, at the same time, had the responsibility of caring for the cattle of several other Tonga. The person looking after the animal was entitled to the milk, but offspring were the property of the owner.

This complex system of co-operation in herding may be another example of an attempt to reduce risks: dispersion of one's livestock provided some protection from the heavy losses that might be incurred by a local disaster.

### *Inter-Tribal Trade*

As is usual in discussion of African tribal economics, writers seem to have assumed that where techniques of production are primitive, a subsistence economy prevails (i.e. an economy characterized by little exchange). Colson states, 'In former days trade was largely non-existent, though there was some variation in production which might have been profitable' (Colson, 1951, p. 107). She qualifies this in a footnote by saying, 'In pre-European days the Tonga were dependent on the Lozi for hoes and other iron goods. They seem to have been paid with ivory and slaves.' Later (p. 108) she also refers to fish obtained from the Twa. Allan and his associates (Allan, 1948, p. 163) give a slightly more elaborate account by noting that in addition to hoes, goats, tobacco, and the fat of cattle were traded with the Lozi; that the Mbala were also a source of iron implements; that pipes (for smoking) came from the Ila; and that tobacco and 'mupani stamping-poles' came from the Valley Tonga. But the theme of their discussion is that trade, within Tongaland or inter-tribally, was of little consequence.

My research among the Plateau Tonga, which was specifically on economics, suggests that both inter-regional (or inter-tribal) and intra-regional trade were active, and commerce was vastly more complex in composition and in tribes involved, than either of these accounts indicate. The Lozi, Mbala, Ila, and Valley Tonga are only four of the ten tribes with which the Plateau Tonga of Maza-buka and Choma Districts say they traded, and I suspect there are more; and the commodities these tribes are said to be bartering are only seven of thirty reported by Tonga.

It is true that most producers seem to have attempted to supply their own needs of the staple grain, but from trade came tools and

weapons always; baskets, pots, tobacco, and ornaments for personal decoration usually; condiments, livestock, meat, and fish frequently and grain occasionally.

Although no market-places existed, commerce was sizeable in terms of value, if not of volume, and long distances of up to three hundred miles on foot were involved. Trade was conducted mostly in the post-harvest portion of the dry season (August, September, and October) which was a slack period agriculturally, a time when most of the foodstuffs exchanged were available in quantity, and about the best time of year for crossing streams and marshes.

Barter was the method of trade. Superficially some of the evidence suggests there was use of money in some transactions. Several informants commented in the course of discussions with them about hoes that, 'Hoes were like shillings are now.' In fact, however, hoes fail to fit most definitions of money because they were accepted for purposes of consumption as well as for further exchange, and it is not certain they were always acceptable, although the evidence suggests they usually were. There was no currency.

There was little organization of trade. Traders are reported to have gone in small groups ranging in size from five to twenty men, and once the party reached their destination, they would wander from village to village, usually escorted by representatives of the local chief for protection and to protect local monopolies, for example, iron-ore deposits.

Little can be said quantitatively about prices, the rates at which one commodity exchanged for another, for although Tonga usually can give a rough idea of the value of most major commodities, they stress that rates of exchange depended considerably on one's skill in bargaining. Prices appear to have responded to changes in supply and demand in most instances, and great geographical price differentials are reported.

Usually the Plateau Tonga took the active role and initiated trade; but visits by non-Plateau Tonga trading parties were not unknown.

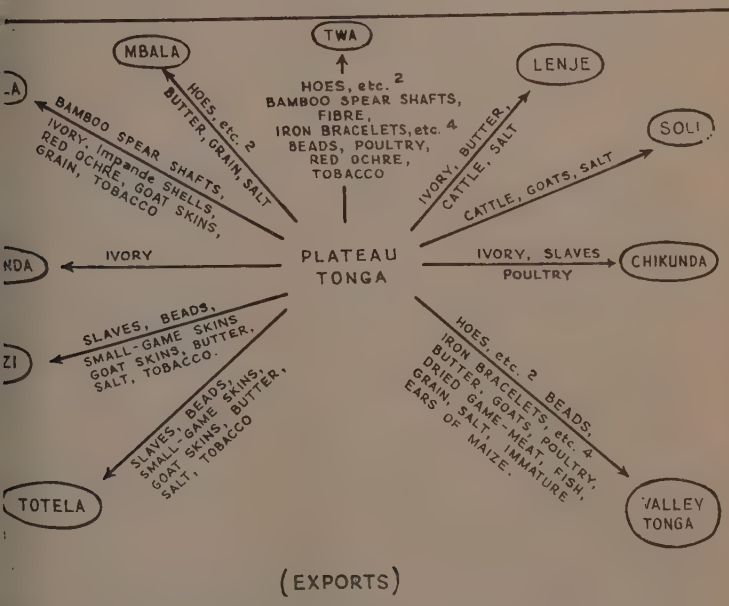
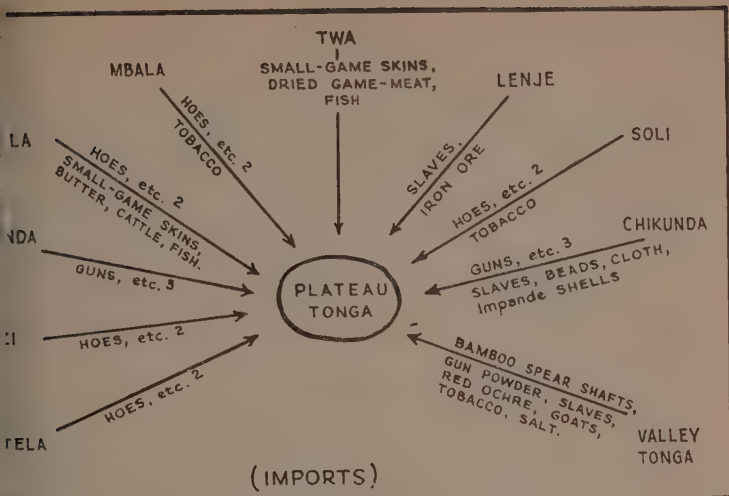
### *Imports*

As the chart indicates, hoe blades (hereafter referred to simply as hoes) were the most common commodity in trade. They are usually the first item that comes to mind when elders are queried about former commerce.

Hoes had a number of uses; it is little wonder they nearly always were acceptable in transactions. Besides their utility in cultivation, they could be worked into spears, axes, knives, and iron bracelets or anklets; they were, in addition, a required component of Tonga bridewealth. No other item traded was less perishable.

The Plateau Tonga had no iron-ore deposits locally, but in the western part of the area, at least, they were skilled at smelting and made some of their own implements and ornaments when they could





Commodities and Tribes in Pre-European Inter-Regional Commerce of the Plateau Tonga <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the exact location of tribes, see map on page 36.

<sup>2</sup> Hoe, spear, and axe blades, mostly the first.

<sup>3</sup> Guns, gunpowder, and percussion caps.

<sup>4</sup> Iron bracelets and anklets.

get the raw materials needed. Everywhere the Plateau Tonga were accomplished blacksmiths, and, when the occasion demanded, they would fashion other articles from the hoes they got in trade. (In most instances it seems to have been only after blades had become well worn that they became raw materials for smiths.)

The primary source of hoes seems unquestionably to have been the Totela.<sup>1</sup> But the Lozi were also a frequently mentioned source and the Soli seem to have been of significance, for they claim hoes were their primary export to the Plateau Tonga country. Both Plateau Tonga and Soli evidence suggests, however, that the volume of trade was comparatively small. The Ila and Mbala seem also to have been minor suppliers.

The Plateau Tonga appear to have been important middlemen in the hoe trade, partially supplying the less venturesome Twa and the Valley Tonga. They had a similar position with fish, bamboo spears, shafts, and red ochre (used primarily in certain rituals). Fish, mostly dried or smoked, were obtained from the Ila or Twa and re-exchanged with the Valley Tonga. Red ochre and bamboo originated with the Valley Tonga and ultimately reached the Ila and Twa, via Plateau Tonga. The Chikunda or possibly their Portuguese or half-caste employers, supplied beads and *impande* shells (*Conus betulina*, *virgo*, *literatus*, etc.).<sup>3</sup> The latter was a conical white sea shell of varying size from the East African coast.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Usually one is simply told: 'We got hoes from Barotseland', and when pressed for the name of the tribe or tribes Tonga specify the Lozi or, more commonly, the Bunduwe, whom they describe as having been somewhere between the Ila and the Lozi. Brelsford (Brelsford, 1956) mentions no such tribe in Northern Rhodesia, but Smith and Dale, who note the Ila traded for iron ore with a tribe by the same appellation, say these were the Totela (Smith and Dale, 1920, p. 202). This is also suggested by Livingstone and Gibbons. Livingstone's 1865 map has the words 'Iron ore abundant' as the only description of the area inhabited by the Totela (Livingstone, 1865). And Gibbons (1898) speaks of the 'Matutela' about whom he had little to say except: 'These people are the iron-workers, and canoe-builders of this black [presumably Lewanika] empire'. Nearly all the assegais, knives and axes are made by them, and are carried in trade to the Marotse [Lozi ?] in the west and the Mashikolumbwe [Ila] in the east (Gibbons, 1898, p. 137). I have been shown one specimen of the hoe said to have been obtained from the Totela; it was identical in shape to the Ila hoe shown in Smith and Dale, 1920, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Allan and his associates (Allan, 1948, p. 163) report that wooden pestles were also obtained from the Valley Tonga. None of my informants spontaneously mentioned this, but it seems plausible. Unfortunately I did not think to ask about this item specifically.

<sup>3</sup> The authority I have taken for the zoological name of this shell is Van der Sleen (1958, p. 214). This shell was worn on the side of the head, on the forehead, or suspended around the neck. See Van der Sleen, Plate V, or A. I. Quiggin, 1949, plate I, *East Africa*, for photographs of this shell.

<sup>4</sup> Until the slave trade was suppressed, trade with slavers seems to have been the only source of *impande*. With the decline of the slave trade, Plateau Tonga probably continued to receive some shells from the Chikunda, but also made voyages to the east coast to collect them. There is also memory of bringing back cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta* or *C. annulus*), which are not mentioned in the commerce with slavers. Many say they also brought sea shells home

popular one was two inches or so at the diameter of the base. The base, separated from the vertex by filing, was the portion used in trade. The Ila were the Plateau Tonga's principal *impande* customers, and seem to have had a great demand for them.<sup>1</sup> (One *impande* shell would often buy a slave or an ox.)

These Tonga traders were indeed entrepreneurs. Except for iron, they were not forced to trade. They could have exploited their habitat in isolation and met considerably more than the bare requirements for life; in addition to their domestic plants and animals there was an abundance of wild foods, game, and salt. Trading ventures were to raise their level of living: to increase the range and volume of goods they could consume or put aside as a reserve, and to increase the wealth that could accumulate. Greater wealth not only meant greater prestige, it also enabled them to face diversity better. Moreover, trading required the accumulation and management of capital, and the bearing of considerable risk. A long voyage through country inhabited by foreign tribes was hazardous and with only a little ill-luck it meant death or enslavement. At times wild animals were a menace. And there was always the chance that, on reaching his destination, a trader would find another, either from Tongaland or elsewhere, had recently satisfied the bulk of the demand for what he was carrying, and therefore the terms of trade would be worse than he had anticipated. But, on the other hand, it was possible to find the reverse and reap windfall profits.

In addition to *impande* shells and beads, cloth, and guns which were largely, if not entirely, muzzle-loading, gunpowder and percussion caps were the principal items obtained from slave traders.<sup>2</sup> The Plateau Tonga mention contact with both the Mbunda, originally from Angola (White, 1949, p. 27), now also inhabiting Barotse-land; possibly the Bisa;<sup>3</sup> and the Chikunda, but the latter more

when they returned from a period of employment at the mines and elsewhere in countries to the south.

Near the end of nineteenth century, European traders flooded the market with porcelain and plastic-like imitations which they had specially made in England (see Harding, 1905, pp. 355-60, for an amusing tale of the difficulties two European traders experienced when their simulated *impande* were partially destroyed by rats).

<sup>1</sup> With the Ila, the right to wear *impande* was reportedly reserved for the chiefs. In the old days, a custom Smith and Dale state was introduced by the Luba early in the nineteenth century (Smith and Dale, 1920, pp. 25 and 26). The Western Plateau Tonga say they observed the same restriction, but the numbers of *impande* to be seen in villages, even now, suggest that they sometimes did not do so, or that at some juncture the custom changed. Possibly round about 1900, the market was spoilt because of large numbers of imitation *impande* sold by European traders and genuine *impande* brought back from countries to the south by migrant workers.

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of the copper crosses which were prominent in the slave trade farther north in what is now Northern Rhodesia.

<sup>3</sup> Tonga are vague about precisely who was buying slaves. Some cite the Chikunda, but many merely refer to 'black people from the east'. These

frequently. A few people also seem to recall direct contact with Arab traders.

The Chikunda not only bought, but sold slaves as well, usually exchanging them for ivory.<sup>1</sup> Slave traders, however, probably were of little significance as a source of slaves. A somewhat more regular source seems to have been the Lenje, and there was probably sporadic slave trade with every neighbouring tribe. Tonga point out that when harvests were poor, the tribes hardest hit would try to sell slaves to anyone for food; therefore, there was probably no nearby tribe the Tonga did not buy slaves from, or sell slaves to, at some time.

Commerce was by no means the only source of slaves. Tonga emphasize that the penalty for many crimes, for example theft, was enslavement; and strangers were captured when there was the opportunity. One trick that is a common theme in these accounts was to pretend to have killed game, and with the promise of fresh meat, to lure a stranger into the bush where assistants waited to pounce on him.

There is evidence that there were considerable differences, geographically, in the importance of the slave trade. In general, people in the eastern half of Tongaland dwell on being raided, and the large numbers of their people who were enslaved as a result of these attacks. In the western areas, where the people resemble the Ila in many ways, they are inclined to boast of how they schemed to capture travellers or even of raids they made.

The remaining commodities imported by the Plateau Tonga are all items they produced, but not always in the quantities or qualities desired: goat herds were swelled and a special kind of salt obtained through trade with the Valley Tonga; the same tribe was a supplementary source of tobacco, and provided tobacco of a different sort as did the Soli and Mbala; the skins of small game, especially the Red Lechwe (*Onotragus lechwe lechwe*), which were used as body and bed coverings, came from the Twa and Ila as well as from local hunters; the Twa were also a source of dried meat.

As has already been noted, Allan and his associates report that pipes were obtained from the Ila. Probably a few were. My informants, however, never spontaneously referred to pipes as an article of inter-tribal trade, and when the question was put to them they replied, usually with some feeling, that they knew how to make their own. I think it is highly improbable that inter-tribal trade in pipes was common.

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probably included the Bisa, whose trading ventures were reaching the edge of Tongaland as early as 1856, according to information given Livingstone, and involved buying slaves (see Livingstone, 1857, p. 567).

<sup>1</sup> Since slaves were used to carry ivory and other goods, they were probably sold in the interior only when their numbers were in excess of those needed in transportation. When this was the case, exchanging some of one's surplus slaves for ivory was a simple and effective means of eliminating the excess capacity in one's transportation operation.

*Exports*

Salt was the most widely traded Plateau Tonga export, and originated principally from deposits on the western side of Mazabuka District. A kind of salt was also made by filtering the ashes of certain grasses and boiling the filtrate to obtain a solid, but this seems to have been something used mostly in last resort, and it appears to have been unimportant in trade.

Salt was an ideal commodity for long-distance trade, for it was greatly in demand, was not perishable, and had high value relative to weight. The Plateau Tonga sold it to all the people with whom they had commercial intercourse, except the slave traders, the Ila, and the Twa; the latter two were close enough to the salt deposits to collect for themselves.

Butter, used more for anointing the skin and hair than for eating, was also traded extensively. Most tribes who had commercial relations with the Plateau Tonga had few, if any cattle, and seem to have relied mainly on the Tonga for this commodity.

There is a tradition of the Plateau Tonga having long kept vast herds of cattle, but from the time of the earliest evidence we have (*circa* 1800) until the present century their herds seem to have been small owing to raids by other tribes and disease epidemics. During Livingstone's visit in 1855 people told of how they had once had enormous herds, but that these had been mostly carried away by raiders of the past half century (Livingstone, 1857, pp. 548, 553, and 554). Livingstone found cattle to be few, and explorers and hunters who followed four decades or so later make no reference to large herds (Gibbons, 1898, p. 140; Harding, 1905, p. 268; and Selous, 1907, pp. 328-41). We know the Ndebele had carried off many of the Tonga cattle in raids of the 1880's which, coupled with an outbreak of rinderpest disease in 1895, left kraals practically empty by the beginning of the present century.

The commonest theme in accounts of inter-tribal cattle trade is purchase of cattle from the Ila; this would seem to reflect a desire of the Plateau Tonga to rebuild herds, a desire that was stimulated in the first third of the present century when, through contact with Europeans, they observed, and fairly quickly recognized, the utility of cattle as draft animals. There are a number of reports of buying Ila cattle with ivory even well into the twentieth century.

Elders mention cattle as one of the items traded with the Lenje and Soli, but it is improbable that such commerce was sizeable. Cattle appear to have been sold then, as now, only if one was pressed. They were probably relinquished only in times of severe food shortage, or when one was acutely short of a necessity, such as hoes, and one's partner in exchange exploited the situation by demanding cattle.

Tonga had ivory because of their skill as hunters and their proximity to sizeable herds of elephants. Elders enthusiastically tell of



how they would hide in trees over-hanging a game trail and spear elephants as they passed below.<sup>1</sup> They may have been better elephant hunters than most of the people they traded with, but one cannot say for want of information on other tribes.

In addition to the Ila, who would buy tusks for the bracelets they could make out of them, the Plateau Tonga sold ivory to the Lenje, the Chikunda, and Mbunda, all of whom probably passed them on to the Arab or Portuguese.

Both the Tonga and their neighbours seem to have been ignorant of tanning techniques, and hence relied on the relatively thin, supple skins of goats and small wild animals, particularly the Red Lechwe for body and bed coverings, and slings for holding babies on the mothers' backs. Such were plentiful in Tongaland and keenly in demand elsewhere, particularly, it appears, among the Totela and Lozi. Red Lechwe seem to have been as abundant in Ila country as in Tongaland, if not more so, but goats were not, and goat skins were welcome in Ila villages.

The Plateau environment was healthier for poultry than the hot Zambezi valley to the east, which is probably the reason the Valle Tonga and Chikunda were buying fowls from the Plateau. But for the other purchasers, the Twa, it was probably more a matter of the Twa being primarily hunters and fishermen and people little interested in agriculture, or poultry and livestock keeping.

Fibre served as rope and cord, and was needed in quantity for construction. In most areas it was easily obtained by stripping the cambium of certain species of trees and using it without further processing. Fibre seems to have been locally available to all the tribes with which the Plateau Tonga traded, save the Twa, whose habitat was the treeless flats near the Kafue river, and who were therefore interesting in buying Tonga fibre.

Only two tribes, the Twa and the Valley Tonga, seemed interested in the iron bracelets and anklets Plateau Tonga smiths made from hoes and other scraps of iron; all the others seem to have had better ornaments of their own manufacture.

Grain was probably both bought from and sold to each of the neighbouring tribes sometime in Tonga history, for it was an important item of commerce during times of severe food shortage. There is no evidence that this was a regular trade, although one would expect it to have been if, as has been alleged, many African peoples, including the Plateau Tonga and their neighbours, experience a 'hunger season'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livingstone noted the same technique in 1856 for a people he called Tonga in the Zambezi Valley, but whom he locates where the Goba now are (Livingstone 1857, p. 575).

<sup>2</sup> B. S. Platt, for example, has categorically asserted: 'Throughout tropical Africa there is a hungry season; towards the end of the agricultural year the stocks of grain run out . . .' (Platt, 1954, p. 101). And there is frequent reference to the 'hunger months' in anthropological writings. In fact, it was probably in a study of a Northern Rhodesia tribe, the classic study of the Bemba by

If there is any solid evidence that any African tribe will submit to regular, yearly hunger, it has not yet been brought forward.<sup>1</sup>

Superficial investigation indeed suggests the Plateau Tonga experienced a regular annual hunger. They often refer to food shortages though it were a regular pre-harvest phenomenon. If this point is pursued, however, they reveal hunger made its appearance sporadically, and was almost perfectly correlated with years of drought, locust, or war. What they did experience regularly, they report, was a pre-harvest period when stocks of their staple cultivated foods were short and they substituted wild flora, particularly starch roots and tubers, for them. In addition to wild plants, there was an abundance of game until well within the twentieth century: there was little need for anyone to be involuntarily hungry.

The Valley Tonga reportedly had crop failures perceptibly more frequently than the people of the Plateau, and there are hints that they were not as well endowed with wild food resources. When years of food shortage did occur, immature maize ears were the first edible product from fields and gardens, and when they began to ripen on the Plateau, people from the escarpment and the Zambezi valley not infrequently were on hand trying to buy them with tobacco, goats, or a slave.

#### THE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN COLONIZATION ON INTER-TRIBAL TRADE

Although a few European hunters-traders, mostly Portuguese, had been operating in North-western Rhodesia since 1845 (Gann, 1958, p. 150), they seem to have been too few to offer notable competition to African entrepreneurs. However, after about 1890, they became increasingly more common, and by 1910 had profoundly altered patterns of commerce. Typically they toured the country, hunting elephants for the ivory, and other game for the meat, that could be bartered to Africans. At the same time they bartered such things as hoes, salt, blankets, cloth, beads, and other ornaments (including artificial *impande* shells and artificial 'ivory' bracelets) for elephant tusks, hides, cattle, and grain, mostly. They lived off the land.

Inter-tribal trade could not withstand the competition. European traders bought, or supplied, at reasonable terms, all the items formerly traded (or a substitute, and often one of better quality) except tobacco, fish, spear shafts, poultry, butter, goats, and red ochre. Concomitantly, the Government was crushing another aspect of Tonga commerce, the slave trade.

For about four decades, until about 1930-5, there was little intertribal trade, and little opportunity for it. Those who were

Audrey Richards, that this concept got its greatest academic publicity (Richards 1939).

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the weakness of the evidence on which the hypotheses of 'seasonal hunger' is based, see Miracle, 1959.

enterprising had little choice but to farm or seek employment, and many did the latter. Europeans and Asians conducted the country's commerce.

With the development of the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt in the late 1920's, and more particularly in the mid-1930's when the copper industry began to recover from the great depression that followed the 1929 stock-market crash, Africans, and particularly Tonga, discovered a new opportunity for inter-regional trade: newly created urban areas were willing to pay attractive prices for poultry and fish. At the same time, game was beginning to become scarce, and there was scope for expanding the fish trade with the Twa.

### CONCLUSION: A HYPOTHESIS

Today, the Plateau Tonga are well known for their adoption of modern techniques of production:<sup>1</sup> no other Northern Rhodesia tribe substituted the plough for the hoe so completely or so readily; the Plateau Tonga are exceptional in the use of manures and in fencing their fields; and, in their determination to replace the oxen with the tractor, they are unique in tropical Africa. This is often explained as the result of their good fortune in having an environment which favoured use of the plough; or, the Government, missionaries, or European farmers are given most of the credit. I believe there was a major factor outside these, a factor related to their historical trade, which has not been suggested before.

Without relatively fertile land, suitable for ploughing and unfested with the tsetse fly, the progress of the Plateau Tonga would undoubtedly have been delayed if not obstructed; but these were only necessary conditions, and they exist over sizeable areas of tropical Africa where techniques of production remain comparatively primitive.

Government encouragement and attempts at assistance have been considerable, and may have been decisive. But, in my opinion, their effect has been slight.

Those who remember Father Moreau of Chikuni Mission, and others like him whose missionary zeal was conspicuously extended to the improvement of Tonga agriculture, are generally quick to believe that practically all the changes one may herald as progress had their origin in the toils of missionaries. But it is arguable that the influence of missionaries was, in the main, more indirect than this, and slight, except for its success in making Tonga dissatisfied with some aspects of their traditional way of life.

<sup>1</sup> District administrators estimated the aggregate number of the major types of farm equipment in Mazabuka and Choma Districts were the following in 1958 (data from Northern Rhodesia Government 1958c and 1958d):

tractors	91	ploughs	21,168
power-operated mills	45	ox-carts	4,516

These data do not include cultivators, harrows, and other such equipment.

Nor do I see evidence that it was European farmers settling in the midst of the Tonga and setting a sterling example that should get the greatest part of the credit, although it was, without question, a factor.

My hypothesis, based on the evidence presented in this article, is that there was a more basic force at work as well, something within Tonga tradition that made them eager to improve their lot, eager to advance economically, once there was the opportunity. European penetration and settlement, it is hypothesized, created a body of unemployed Tonga traders, who, because they lacked expression of their talents, were receptive to change. Stated in another way, there was possibly a core of entrepreneurs who could not make the income they were used to by farming alone, so long as they used their traditional techniques; and who found the only means open to them of supplementing their income was working in the mines, for European merchants, or on European farms, which they viewed with contempt because they were unused to, and disliked, working for others; therefore, they were willing to consider even radical changes in their technique of production if such promised a higher income.

With the coming of European traders in the late nineteenth century, the traditional inter-regional trade of the Plateau Tonga was reduced to a trickle, and some three to four decades were to pass before it was revived with development of a market for Tonga eggs, poultry, and fish that accompanied the creation of a large non-self-sufficient population in the Copperbelt and other urban areas. It was in the latter part of this period, characterized by few opportunities for trade, that Tonga accepted a radically different technique of agriculture, and I think it likely that the way was led by frustrated entrepreneurs.

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# A STUDY OF RACE ATTITUDES IN NIGERIA<sup>1</sup>

by

CYRIL A. ROGERS

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

OF that area of Africa which lies to the South of the Sahara, it is likely that the West Coast has had longer contact with the European powers and European ways of life than any other. From the records of Herodotus it appears that Phoenician mariners touched parts of the West Coast while circumnavigating Africa about 612 B.C., but apart from this documentation, there is little evidence of other European exploration for about the next two thousand years. Burns (1948) advances some evidence to show that the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen may have traded with the West Coast in the fourteenth century, but it is not until the fifteenth century that we have evidence of the Portuguese visits. Gaining confidence as they went, the Portuguese gradually pushed farther and farther down the Western side of Africa and by 1472 they had explored as far as the Bight of Benin. Trade was started almost immediately, first in ivory and pepper and then later, with the founding of the Spanish colonies in the New World, slaves were added to the list.

At first the Portuguese monopolized the slave trade, but after Sir John Hawkins had taken his first cargo across the Atlantic in 1562, the English entered the field with a vengeance. At first, because of the opposition of the Africans in the Delta region of the Niger, European penetration did not go far inland. Most of the slaves were traded near the coast.

However, in 1807 the British Government, prodded by the powerful Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and by Wilberforce, passed an Act prohibiting any slaves from being carried in a British ship or being landed in a British colony. From then on, with gathering momentum, Britain, who had taken such a vigorous part in the slave trade, turned with equal vigour to its suppression. This occupied her attention for some fifty years.

But British commercial interest in the Niger area did not cease, quite the contrary. Palm oil, ivory, shea butter, nuts and other products took the place of slaves. Partly to develop commercial interests, partly to suppress the slave trade and partly answering the call of the unknown, European penetration into the hinterland

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Constance L. H. Geary, Head of the Department of Education, University College, Ibadan, and Mr. Alan Brimer, Senior Lecturer in Psychology, for much help in organizing this study and for valuable comments. To the staff and students who so readily co-operated I am also grateful.

was accelerated during the nineteenth century. Much of the penetration was British, and the explorations of Mungo Park, Clapperton, Lander and Baikie, to name but a few, served to bring Nigeria into closer contact with European customs and commerce. Such concepts as the equality of the individual before God, the sanctity of human life, and respect for the rule of law, owe their introduction very much to the civilizing influence of the Christian missions. The caravan routes from the north also continued to bring contact with alien ways of life (cf. Bovill, 1958).

But whereas in Southern and Central Africa, discovery and exploration were followed by European settlement this happened as the exception rather than the rule in Nigeria. Dike (1956) underlines the fact that for well over 300 years Europeans were prepared to trade in West Africa, to sign treaties of agreement with African kings, but they did not settle on an enduring basis. The African kings were often too powerful to brook much interference with their affairs, and the malaria-carrying anopheles probably killed more intending settlers than it spared. Even with the establishment of the legitimate commercial enterprises and the gradual coming of British power, there was no widespread alienation of land for European settlement. This is a major difference between Western and Southern Africa. In the latter, the alienation of land for European settlement has been followed by legal measures which geographically apportion the races into separate areas.

British commercial power in the Niger delta was reinforced by political power after the conquest of Lagos in 1851. Lagos became a Crown colony in 1862 and for the ensuing 45 years British rule was gradually extended until in 1907 the boundaries of the territory now known as Nigeria were defined.

A constitutional Conference held in 1953 decided that Nigeria should become a Federation of three Regions—Northern, Eastern and Western. In each of the Regions a majority group of people can be distinguished as well as considerable minority groups of varying proportions. In the Western Region Yoruba people predominate, in the Eastern region it is the Ibo, while in the Northern Region a combination of Fulani and Hausa peoples accounts for roughly half the population. From the Census figures of 1952 and 1953 it seems that upwards of 27 million people of diverse origins and languages inhabit modern Nigeria; about 6 million in the Western territory, 5 million in the Eastern and 16 million in the Northern (cf. Willink Commission Report, 1958). The next stage in Nigeria's constitutional evolution was decided at a conference held in London in 1958; Nigeria is to receive independence within the Commonwealth in 1960.

#### AN ASSESSMENT OF RACE ATTITUDES

To test the feeling of educated Africans towards Europeans, the

present study was planned.<sup>1</sup> In an age that is witnessing rapid and far-reaching political and social changes, it seems important that some examination be made of race relations in the various territories of Africa. After all, race is one of the important problems of Africa, and any matters that bear on the problem, however partial they may be, would seem worthy of study.

From an inspection of the history of Nigeria, it would seem that race attitudes have undergone considerable modification. This is as one would expect. But although the pattern of race attitudes has undoubtedly changed, it has never been simple. British attitudes towards the African during the period of the slave trade were both complex and ambivalent. On one hand there was the tough-minded business entrepreneur who was prepared to treat human beings as movable property, and on another, a smaller but growing body of philanthropists who regarded slavery as immoral and un-Christian. Nor were the Africans blameless. Those who profited from the trade supported it with vigour and resisted Britain's later efforts to stop it.

Representative of the philanthropic group were Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, whose efforts were partly responsible, along with the decline in the economic return from slavery, for the final suppression of the trade. But from contemporary records it seems likely that the bulk of the British population knew little and cared less about the plight of Africans on the West Coast and those sold into slavery in the Americas. They were too concerned with their own problems of living.

Since 1807 it seems that Britain has done much to atone for her part in the slave trade. Great sums of money were spent by the British government in an attempt to stop her own traders and those of other nations from buying and selling people. The naval squadrons that were maintained on the West Coast for some sixty years were not without cost to the British taxpayer.

While staying in Nigeria, the writer had many opportunities to ask educated Africans whether the philanthropic efforts of the British, and the assistance they are giving in the march to independence, were sufficient to outweigh the lingering memories of the slave trade. A typical reply was 'the past is past' and that relations at present demonstrate a mutual confidence between black and white that has probably not been enjoyed in any other period of Nigeria's history. This may be so, but whatever attitudes are held by Africans, and they will vary, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the moulding influences are just as complex, although probably of a different nature, as those described by MacCrone (1937), Adorno (1950), Frenkel-Brunswick (1948) and others.

Attitudes on race have been explored systematically in many parts of the world, with much of the important work being done in

<sup>1</sup> In Africa south of the Sahara, the term 'European' usually means 'white', and 'African' means negro, Bantu or black.

the United States and the Union of South Africa. The techniques of measurement have varied considerably, with verbal methods predominating. Recently the author has calibrated two scales for use in Central Africa, one to measure the attitudes of Europeans about Africans and the other to measure the attitudes of educated Africans about Europeans. The latter scale was devised for Africans with at least a post-primary school knowledge of the English language. This was essential because it was found that many of the concepts expressed in English became meaningless when an attempt was made to translate them into the African tongues, and besides this, the whole idea of attitude-testing was completely foreign to the uneducated African. With Africans who use English consistently, and who have received a secondary education through the medium of English, the measurement of attitudes was found to be quite possible. The scale which was finally adopted, and which employs a system of scoring described by the writer as the scale-weight method, has been described in full elsewhere. Its reliability, validity and discriminative power have been demonstrated (Rogers, 1959).

When the scale was under construction, an attempt was made to eliminate the items of a purely local nature, and the ones finally selected were those which it seemed possible to apply in other territories of the Continent, namely West and East Africa. Some care was taken to ensure the catholicity of the scale, and independent checks on its 'credibility' were obtained. Thus, although we may have lost some sharpness through the elimination of local material, it is felt that the value of the scale has been increased for comparative studies of race relations in many of the territories of Africa.

### *Tasks*

In a first study of this nature, where the field is largely unexplored, it would be inadequate to setup hypotheses and attempt to test them. Our aims will be to nominate the tasks which are to be tackled and at the end of the study to advance certain postulates that seem consistent with, and stem from the experimental findings.

The tasks are :

1. To measure the attitudes of African students at Ibadan towards Europeans, and to determine the centre of gravity and distribution of these attitudes.
2. To determine whether or not there is any relation between tribal origin and attitude about Europeans.
3. To see if region (Northern, Western, Eastern) is related to race attitude.
4. To find out if the political parties for which students intend to vote can be differentiated by their attitude towards Europeans.
5. As a check on the validity of the scale, to see if self-ratings of attitude are related to test scores.
6. To analyse separately certain items on the scale that seem of importance in Nigeria.

### Subjects

The subjects for the investigation were all students attending the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria. They were drawn from the three regions of Nigeria although the majority came from the Western and Eastern. The tribal backgrounds of the subjects and the regions to which they belong are shown in Table I.

TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY REGION AND TRIBAL ORIGIN  
(N = 200)

<i>Western Region</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Northern Region</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Eastern Region</i>	<i>No.</i>
Bini	8	Fulani	1	Efik	3
Edo	1	Hausa	1	Ibibio	8
Ishan	2	Igbirra	1	Ibo	60
Itsekiri	1	N. Yoruba	1	Ijaw	4
Urhobo	5	Unclassified (N.R.)	2	Unclassified (E.R.)	1
Yoruba	92				76
Unclassified (W.R.)	2			S. Cameroons	3
				Region Unknown	4
					7
Total	111		6		200

Some notes on Table I may be necessary. The tribal origins shown are occasionally classified differently in the Reports of the Census taken in 1952 and 1953, but we have preferred the origins given by the individuals concerned.

It will be seen that the Northern Region, which embraces some 16 million people, or more than half the total population of the Federation, is represented by only 6 people in our sample, and not all of these are from the dominant Muslim tribes. There are historical reasons for this under-representation.

By the time British influence had penetrated to the Northern Area, the political philosophy of Indirect Rule had been born. Lugard considered that the Muslim north, with its established system of law and religion, provided an excellent vehicle for the operation of Indirect Rule. The British guaranteed the emirs of the north that the Muslim civilization would not be interfered with. This meant that the missions which have furnished so much of the education of Africa were not established and, as a result, the number of persons in the north who have received an education through the medium of English is very small in comparison with the Yoruba and Ibo of the south. These two tribes, numbering between 5 and 6 million each, have taken much advantage of the educational facilities offered them, and as a consequence have provided a considerable proportion of the civil servants in the north.

One or two other explanations may be required. The census uses the term Edo to classify people from Metropolitan Benin and Ishan,



but the students did not prefer this convention. The majority of Ijaw live in the Eastern Region, although a substantial minority live in the west ; in the absence of other data it has been assumed that the Ijaw students in the study came from east of the Niger. The three students from the Southern Cameroons—a trust territory of quasi-regional status administered for the United Nations—have not been classified by tribe. Finally, some students did not give their tribal origin ; these have been classified by region wherever possible.

After a few unfinished answer papers had been sifted out, 200 subjects remained for the study out of a total graduate and undergraduate population of over 900. Thus it was possible to test more than one-fifth of the student body. Of these, 45 were drawn from the Institute of Education, 66 from the Faculty of Arts and 89 from the Faculty of Science. The careers or professions which they intended to pursue included teaching, educational administration of various kinds, librarianship, the civil service, meteorology, medicine, agricultural administration and research, law, the armed forces, accountancy, commerce, engineering, chemistry and so on. Ages ranged from 18 years up to 43, with the majority in the early twenties.

Because of the attention that was paid to sampling, it is not unreasonable to assume that the racial attitudes of the group represent closely the attitudes of the whole student body. But it would not be possible to assume that the attitudes measured by us represent the attitudes of the country or even the educated portion of it. There is little doubt, however, that in the new nation that is emerging in 1960, the young university men and women of today will occupy strategic and influential positions. The attitudes which they hold on race matters may not be without significance.

### *Procedures*

Rogers' *Measure of Attitudes about the European* was used to furnish the basic data. The co-operation of students was obtained by addressing each group on the purposes of the study and outlining the results of research done in other parts of the world. The investigation was viewed with interest and there is no reason to believe that the responses were not genuine expressions of attitude held at the time. The data were checked by interviewing a cross-section of students after the testing had been completed. Where it was clear that a student had failed to understand the method of scoring, his paper was not included ; this happened in five instances.

When the data had been gathered, they were analysed, so that hypotheses could be advanced in each of the problem areas outlined previously. The results of these analyses are presented below.

### *Results*

1. The first task was to determine the centre of gravity and distribution of the attitudes of the African students towards Europeans. During the testing it was made clear to the students that they were to

express attitudes about Europeans as they know them in Nigeria and not as they had heard about them from reports from other countries. In most cases the Europeans were British, and a number of subjects took care to indicate that their attitudes referred specifically to the British. The distribution of scores on the scale is shown in Table II, along with the theoretical sigma scores on either side of the mean.

TABLE II: DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES ABOUT EUROPEANS AMONG NIGERIAN STUDENTS

<i>Sigma score</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Sigma score</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>f</i>
+ 1 $\sigma$ = 157.17	155-159	4	- 1 $\sigma$ = 112.83	115-119	27
	150-154	4		110-114	26
	145-149	3		105-109	16
	140-144	6		100-104	11
+ 2 $\sigma$ = 135	135-139	13	- 2 $\sigma$ = 90.66	95-99	10
	130-134	21		90-94	2
	125-129	31		85-89	3
	120-124	23			
Mean = 120.7			SD = 14.4		N = 200

On our scale for the measurement of attitudes, the theoretical neutral score is 135 points, and it can be seen readily that the mean score of 120.7 obtained from this sample of students, falls clearly towards the favourable end of the scale. On the theoretical sigma scale the obtained mean of 120.7 is equivalent to a score of  $-.646\sigma$  below the mean, a significant deviation. It must be stressed that the sigma scores shown on Table II are derived from the properties of the normal (Gaussian) curve and are not based on sampling. The score of 135, while it is the midpoint of the favourable-unfavourable dimension, does not coincide exactly with the mid-point obtained from sampling. The sampling midpoints, derived from Rhodesian, Ghanaian and Nigerian groups, have varied several points on either side of this figure. Nor should it be assumed that the neutral score necessarily implies impartiality; more often it means that the specific items expressing favourable and unfavourable attitudes balance and cancel out.

The statistical evidence on the favourableness of Nigerian attitudes is supported by other data. For example, only twelve of the subjects rate their own attitudes as being unfavourable towards Europeans, and all the rest assess themselves as being either neutral or favourable in outlook. Some of the reasons for these favourable attitudes will be explored later, but it is worth mentioning that the European in Nigeria would be likely to meet many more expressions of goodwill than ill. Although the odd politician from time to time has employed racialism as a political tool, it seems to have fallen on largely unresponsive ears. One of the statements on the scale (No. 20) reads 'I hate all Europeans'. In discussion one young Nigerian observed, 'Hate is too strong for Nigeria'. His observation was typical of most, and

it is noteworthy that only one student out of the 200 was prepared to agree with the statement.

2. The next task was to determine whether on our sample there was any relation between tribal origin and attitude about Europeans. This in effect reduces to an examination of the scores obtained by Yoruba and Ibo people as the other tribal groups are insufficiently represented for workable comparisons to be made. Table III summarizes the findings :

TABLE III: ATTITUDE SCORES OBTAINED BY DIFFERENT TRIBAL GROUPINGS

<i>People</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Mean Score</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>Differences</i>
Yoruba	92	119.9	14.1	Ibo-Yoruba 0.9
Ibo	60	120.8	13.7	Bini-Yoruba 0.5
Bini	8	120.4	—	Ibibio-Yoruba 2.4
Ibibio	8	122.3	—	Ibo-Ibibio 1.5

It can be seen at a glance that there is no point in testing statistically the differences between the tribal groupings shown in Table III. The Yoruba and Ibo people have uniformly favourable attitudes toward Europeans and display a very similar range of attitudes. The scores of the Bini and Ibibio people are also shown, though, because of the small numbers involved, nothing should be deduced from them.

It is unfortunate that there are no big groups of students from the Northern Region in our sample. It is in the north where the British were able to apply, perhaps better than elsewhere, the doctrine of Indirect Rule. The major tribal groups—the Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri and Nupe—retained the faith and law of Islam, and because the British have observed scrupulously their pledge not to interfere, the emirs have reciprocated with consistent loyalty to the Crown. The demand for independence has not been so pressing in the Northern Region and neither has the demand for internal self-government within the Nigerian Federation. For these reasons it is likely that attitudes toward Europeans (in effect the British) are at least as favourable in the north as in the other two regions, if not more favourable.

3. Because of the nature of the sample, the third task, that of seeing whether Region is related to race attitude, cannot be separated from the analysis of tribal groupings. Of the 111 subjects tested who were from the Western Region, 92 were Yoruba people, and of the 76 from the East, 60 belonged to the Ibo clan. And we have seen already that the Bini and Ibibio samples do not differ significantly from the Yoruba and Ibo groups ; hence the Regional attitudes on our sample can be equated with tribal attitudes. All that can be concluded from the evidence is that the students both from the west and the east display similarly favourable attitudes towards Europeans, and that we have no direct measures of attitudes held in the north.

4. As part of the testing programme, each student was asked to indicate which of the three major political parties he would vote for at the next Federal Election ; the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.), the Action Group (A.G.) or the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.). From question and discussion it was clear that the great majority of students were quite sure of the party for which they would vote, and were equally sure that only a political development of the greatest magnitude—such as a party changing its stand on independence in 1960—would cause a change in their intended voting reaction. The results are presented in Table IV.

TABLE IV: INTENDED VOTING REACTION AND RACE ATTITUDE

Party	N.	M.	S.D.	Parties	Diff.	t	l. of c. %	Null hypothesis
N.C.N.C.	97	122.6	13.23	N.C.N.C.-A.G.	3.5	1.72	> 5.0	Supported
A.G.	89	119.1	14.75	N.C.N.C.-N.P.C.	6.0	1.38	> 10.0	Supported
N.P.C.	11	116.6	17.75					
Dynamic	3	125.2	—					
	200							

It will be seen that the most favourable attitudes are reflected by the N.P.C., which may have been expected on historical grounds. The Dynamic Party, which has as yet made little impact on Nigerian politics, received the support of three people.

The differences between the scores of the different parties on the race scale were next tested by means of Gosset's *t* test, and the null hypotheses, that the differences could be accounted for on the grounds of chance, had to be accepted. Thus we have no evidence of systematic and significant differences between the major political parties in their attitude towards Europeans. If the favourable attitudes are general to the population, one might be tempted to conclude that Europeans would find living in Nigeria after independence in 1960 little different from at present. But the living conditions of Europeans are likely to be affected by more than racial attitudes, by matters such as housing, leave, salaries, taxation, Africanization of posts and so on. And even if race attitudes are more crucial than other factors, our data cannot predict that the present preferential treatment often accorded to Europeans will continue.

One interesting fact emerges in this part of the study. Support for the three parties is very substantially regional. The N.C.N.C. is the party of the Eastern Region and was chosen by 90 per cent of the Ibo people. The A.G. party is the party of the Western Region and was supported by 79 per cent of all the Yoruba people of the sample. All of the 6 people from the Northern Region supported the N.P.C. The clan showing greater tendency to vote across regional lines was the Yoruba ; 18 per cent of our sample opting for the N.C.N.C. But it is this regional nature of politics which

caused the Willink Commission (1958) so much concern and which prompted them to make recommendations specifically designed to strengthen the hand of the central authority in Nigeria. Whether the recommendations will be implemented effectively, time will judge ; but from discussion with many people in Nigeria, the tendency to fragmentation appears as a distinct problem which the Federal Government must face on independence.

5. A rather more peripheral object of the investigation was to make some check on the validity of the measures derived from the scale. Before attempting the test, each subject was asked to rate his global attitude towards Europeans on a five-point scale ranging from 'very favourable', through 'neutral', to 'very unfavourable'. Self-ratings are one of the several methods which provide important although incomplete assessments of validity. At the outset it was postulated that if the individuals were sifted into different groups on the basis of their self-ratings, then the mean scores appertaining to these groups should also be significantly different. Errors in measurement would be reflected in less than complete agreement between the self-ratings and the test scores. To effect this check on validity, the test papers were sifted into five piles on the basis of the self-ratings, and the mean test scores for each pile were determined. The null hypothesis for each difference between the mean scores was then tested statistically by reference to Gosset's *t* distribution. The 'very unfavourable' pile was not considered, as the number involved (3) did not warrant it. These findings are given in Table V.

TABLE V: SELF-RATINGS OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS EUROPEANS, AND THE TEST SCORES ON EACH OF THE RATINGS

Rating	N.	Mean	S.D.	Ratings	Diff.	<i>t</i>	<i>l. of c.</i> %	Null hypothesis
V. favourable	30	102.9	9.8	V.F.—Fav.	16.5	7.594	<0.1	Rejected
Favourable	116	119.4	10.7	Fav.—Neut.	9.9	5.380	<0.1	Rejected
Neutral	42	129.3	8.9	Neut.—Unfav.	17.9	4.902	<0.1	Rejected
Unfavourable	9	147.2	13.1					
V. unfavourable	3	142.2	—					

Some deductions can be made from the findings. The differences tested are statistically significant at a very high level of confidence, and would not have occurred by chance in some thousands of samplings. The standard deviations show that there is some overlap between the categories 'very favourable', 'favourable', etc., but the major portions of each distribution are distinct ; this lends considerable support to our contention that the scale possesses good validity.

Finally, the differences between the means of the different categories are not uniform, which suggests that the units of measurement on the scale depart considerably from equidistance. This is not an uncommon finding in attitude measurement, but it is tolerable where the scale discriminates effectively.



6. The final task was to inspect separately a number of items on the scale. These were of two types, those which seem of doubtful applicability in Nigeria and those which seem particularly relevant.

### *Items of Doubtful Applicability*

*Item 5.* 'I think that all races would benefit by educational integration.'

It was agreed in discussion that this item hardly applied to Nigeria as there are no legal bars to integration and a number of schools and educational institutions have both African and European children at them. Many Europeans, however, send their children away from Nigeria at about 11 years of age because it is felt that this is medically wise. But before this age schooling is normally obtained in Nigeria and the Senior Staff school at the University College of Ibadan caters for all races, not only for children of the staff at the University, but also for the children of civil servants, officials, businessmen etc., from the city. The test for admission is ability to profit from schooling of the nature and speed of British education.

Even so, some Nigerian members of the College Staff seem to prefer to send their children to African schools, with the result that the proportion of Nigerian children at the Senior Staff school is less than the proportion of Nigerian to expatriate staff. But for those children whose parents prefer the Senior Staff school, the educational fare is rich and varied, and from my observations it also provides a social situation in which the different races can mix with freedom, without strain and to their mutual advantage.

Other educational institutions in Nigeria, such as the University and the Niger College of Arts, Science and Technology, have both Europeans and Non-Europeans in the staff, but the number of Europeans among the student body is very small.

*Item 15.* 'In my view, the only solution to the racial problem is to expel all Europeans from this country.' Because of different moulding influences and the generally favourable attitude that Nigerians have towards Europeans, there is no black-white problem as it is seen in other parts of Africa. Anti-European statements in the press are frequently deplored by the majority of educated Africans, and there is wide recognition of the need for British assistance after independence in 1960. On the other hand there does seem to be some racial feeling between the Regions and between some tribes, and this may constitute a serious threat to the stability of Nigeria on independence.

*Item 24.* 'In my view, the European should not mock the African, because he is competing on unequal terms.' It was felt that this statement hardly applied, and with the Nigerianization programme being pushed forward, it seemed that in quite a number of instances the African was competing with the European on better than equal terms.

*Item 30.* 'I should like to subject Europeans to the same injustices and humiliations to which they have subjected Africans.'

As has been pointed out previously, Africans felt that in a sense this kind of attitude was inapplicable in present-day Nigeria. 'The past is past' was a typical reaction to a stimulus of this nature. A number of items were felt to be worthy of more detailed analysis because of their relevance to conditions in Nigeria.

*Items for further analysis*

*Item 14.* 'I believe that Europeans should help govern Africans until the African is able to rule himself.' The responses fell as follows :

S.A. = 20%      A. = 42.5%      U. = 8%      D. = 16%      S.D. = 13.5%

This distribution is of particular interest when one recalls the slogan heard so frequently in Africa that 'It is better for the Africans to rule themselves badly than to be ruled well by Europeans'. With our University sample, the emphasis was on learning to govern with the help of the British and a total of only 29.5 per cent disagreed with this point of view. All concurred that good faith was necessary on the part of both the teacher and the learner, and it was also stressed how difficult it was to decide when a people is ready for self-government.

Most of the sample felt that Nigeria had advanced sufficiently in her tutelage to embark upon independence, yet it was often realised also that, with the Northern Region obtaining internal self-government in 1959, one year was an uncommonly short time in which to prepare for the step to complete autonomy in 1960. But for an African to suggest a stay in the acceptance of independence in order to gain further experience would be to commit political suicide (see Akinsuriju, 1958).

*Item 26.* 'I believe that some Africans would prefer to work under a European rather than under another African.'

S.A. = 14.5%      A. = 53%      U. = 8.5%      D. = 17%      S.D. = 7%

The figures need little comment. There was substantial agreement for the belief that the European was more impartial in his handling of work problems, and he also had more to teach than the African employer.

*Item 28.* 'It appears to me that Europeans are intellectually superior to Africans.'

S.A. = 3.5%      A. = 10%      U. = 9%      D. = 21%      S.D. = 56.5%

The results are in the expected direction. It was freely admitted that European technology and conditions of living were more advanced than Nigerian, but this could be accounted for on the grounds of opportunity and education. Furthermore, it would indicate a lack of national pride and morale for a nation to believe otherwise.

This item does not correlate well with the total score on the test, and will probably be replaced in future editions.

*Item 32.* 'I believe that Europeans have as much right to live in Africa as the Africans have.'

S.A. = 13.5%    A. = 45%    U. = 12.5%    D. = 13.5%    S.D. = 15.5%

The majority of the sample (58.5 per cent) are in favour of letting Europeans live in Africa (Nigeria), while 12.5 per cent are undecided on the matter. Our survey and our observations show a considerable reservoir of good will between the British and the Nigerians, and it is believed by some that the problems of independence may require more European help rather than less. It appears that responsible Nigerians appreciate the need for a massive attack on the problems of illiteracy and poverty and the help that Europeans can give. If, for any one of a number of reasons, this help is not forthcoming, it seems likely that the attempt to establish a working parliamentary democracy in Nigeria will be fraught with staggering difficulties.

#### DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION

The powers of Europe entered Nigeria to trade and the British remained to rule. For over one hundred years now the British have been practising the art of government, and there is wide agreement among Nigerians that it has been substantially good government. Now after a nationalist movement that has gathered momentum over the last forty years, Nigeria is on the threshold of independence within the Commonwealth. In a sense, this is a vindication of British colonial policy at its best. Government has been practised and the ruled have learned. Now there are sufficient Nigerian leaders with sufficient following to demand the final step in the evolutionary process.

Naturally, there is no objective criterion for determining when a nation is ready for self-government, although some thought might be given to standards of education, the extent of literacy, economic viability, the quality of leadership, the responsibility exercised by emergent leaders and so on. Given faith on both sides it is not inconceivable that criteria could be established which, if met, would go far to determining the future success of parliamentary democracy. To some extent such criteria have been taken into account in some of the territories of Africa.

Anyway, Nigerians of different walks of life feel that they, following the lead of Ghana, should be given the opportunity to rule themselves. In acceding to this general wish, the British have fostered a climate of good will towards Europeans which has few parallels in Africa. If our sample is in any way representative of educated Africans then the probability of good relations between the races in the future is high. Whether or not parliamentary democracy will take root and flourish in Nigeria is a question that can only be answered by time, but certainly the favourable attitudinal climate

towards Europeans should make it possible for them to help in nurturing the plant.

It can be argued that race attitudes are a product of social situations, and that the history and backgrounds of West and Southern Africa are different. This is true, but lessons are still to be learned from history. The European settler has built his home in other parts of Africa and intends to stay, but it would not be amiss for him to look long and hard at the various legal, economic, and social discriminations which abound, to see what effect, if any, these have on the social climate in which he lives.

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## NOTES

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No. 16. *Numerical data on African Dwellers in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia*, by D. G. Bettison. Roneoed, printed covers, pp. xxi + 50, one map, 17 diagrams. Price to non-members 10s.

No. 17. *Further Economic and Social Studies, Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, by D. G. Bettison, H. D. Ngwane and A. A. Nyirenda. Roneoed, printed covers, pp. 49, 12 tables. Price to non-members 4s.

No. 18. *Crime in Northern Rhodesia: a Preliminary Survey*, by W. Clifford, about 100 pp. Mr. Clifford, Director of Social Welfare in Northern Rhodesia, has analysed the available crime statistics. His analysis shows that many features of the Western situation are repeated in the African context, but that in some respects the situation is more satisfactory in Northern Rhodesia than in England. The first draft of this paper was discussed at an Institute Seminar in February and some of the discussion was incorporated in the final text. Price to non-members 10s.

Non-members wishing to purchase Communications and Conference Proceedings are reminded that stocks are now held at the Manchester University Press, 316-324, Oxford Road, Manchester 13, and at the Humanities Press, Inc., 303, Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y., U.S.A., from whom they can be obtained at the advertised prices.

### STAFF CHANGES

As was forecast in the last Journal, Mr. George Kay, a geographer who had just completed his M.A. thesis at Liverpool University, arrived in the Territory in August, 1959, to undertake the ecological survey in connection with the Fort Rosbery Health and Nutrition Scheme, which had been inaugurated as a joint operation by the World Health Organization and the local Government, assisted by Colonial Development and Welfare funds.



Dr. Apthorpe, who previously filled the post of Research Officer, Headquarters, has entered into a new contract to undertake a comparative study of indigenous political institutions, with particular reference to their adaptation to modern conditions. His work in his previous post, combined with his field experience in connection with the Nsenga social organization, particularly fit him to undertake this task.

In November, 1959, Mr. Peter Rigby started work on a sociolinguistic project designed to analyse the changes occurring in the language situation in a Northern Rhodesian Urban African community. As a first step Mr. Rigby is learning Bemba in its home area where Dr. I. Richardson of the School of Oriental and African Studies is already engaged on a study of Bemba dialects. Mr. Rigby graduated at Capetown University with distinctions in Bantu Languages, Native Administration and Anthropology, all subjects particularly relevant to the present study.

Miss A. Tweedie, with an Oxford degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics, is also in Kasama, undertaking a study of Bemba rural economics, designed to ascertain how far the rural economy is dependent on local agricultural endeavour and the degree to which it is assisted by injected cash and kind from employment, mostly on the Copperbelt. This study is being undertaken at the request of and with the financial assistance of the Northern Province Development Commissioner.

Mr. John Argyle, who has been conducting a tribal study amongst the Soli, returned to Oxford in January 1960 to undertake the write-up of his work.

#### AFFILIATES

Two new Affiliate Members have joined the Institute since we last went to press. Professor Dotson, Associate Professor of Sociology of the University of Connecticut, arrived in September, 1959, on a study of the social organization of the Asian Community in Central Africa. He is accompanied by his wife who, with a doctorate from Yale, is well fitted to assist him in his project. Based on the Institute, Professor Dotson has already visited the three territories of Central Africa, and made initial contact with the various Asian communities concerned.

The new year sees Mr. La Munière, a Ph.D. student from Harvard, commencing work on his study of the socio-economics of the fishing industry. This is a valuable and rapidly expanding industry of great benefit to the Northern Rhodesian population both as a source of protein and as an outlet for the economic energies of the more enterprising. With a year or more in the field Mr. La Munière should be able to add considerably to the knowledge already acquired of this widespread trade, particularly of its social implications.

## ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

In the last Journal the rise in the number of Associate Members was noted, and the hope expressed that an expanded programme could be provided for them. This proved possible and several meetings have been held, some in conjunction with the Lusaka section of the Northern Rhodesia Society, which is based on the Institute, and with the Lusaka branch of the Rhodesia University Association.

The following list of talks reveals the wide variety of subjects dealt with:

**Dr. Desmond Clark**, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. May, 1959. 'National Monuments': a talk given at the inaugural meeting of the Lusaka Branch of the Northern Rhodesia Society.

**Professor Maquet**, Professor of Anthropology at the Official University of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. June, 1959. 'University Development in the Congo.'

**Mr. M. P. Miracle**, Research Associate of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California. August, 1959. 'Economics and Agriculture in Central Africa.'

**Dr. B. T. G. Chidzero**, Research Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford, formerly Alexander McKenzie Fellow in Political Science, McGill University. September, 1959. 'Political Science and Partnership.'

**Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke**, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. December, 1959. 'Some Impressions of Nigeria.'

**Mr. Guy Hunter**, Director of the Tropical Africa Study Project of the Institute of Race Relations, London. January, 1960. 'The Institute's Tropical Africa Study Project.'

**Mr. W. Clifford**, Director of Social Welfare, Northern Rhodesia. February, 1960. 'Crime in Northern Rhodesia.'

The Institute's 14th Conference was held in Lusaka from February 24 to 29, 1960, on the subject 'Myth in Modern Africa'.

Anyone may become an Associate Member for £1 10s. per annum. This subscription entitles the member to the privilege of attendance at meetings, as well as a free issue of the Institute's publications and use of its well-stocked library.

## REVIEWS

*Eingeborenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika: ihre Geschichte und Sozialstruktur.* By K. SCHLOSSER. Kommissionsverlag W. G. Muhlau (Kiel, 1958). Pp. 355. DM. 39.80 cloth, DM.34.00 paper covers.

THE first major enquiry into the South African separatist churches was undertaken in the early 'forties by B. G. M. Sundkler, a Lutheran missionary with extensive experience of Zululand. Sundkler's work<sup>1</sup> made an important contribution to South African history by showing how these separatist African churches first originated. Sundkler also attempted the task of sociological analysis. Basing his conclusions on his work in Zululand, he attempted to link the constant splitting of these separatist churches to the characteristics of Zulu social organization. In addition he worked out the difference between the Ethiopian Churches proper, and what he called the 'Zionist' sects. The former, in his view, owed much to the traditions of the Zulu chiefs of old, organizers and men of authority, who were expected to defend the interests of their fellow-tribesmen against the Europeans. The 'Zionist' preachers, on the other hand, were regarded by Sundkler as the successors of the Zulu medicine men, tribal intellectuals, who saw visions and dreamt strange dreams without, however, wishing to act as political leaders.

Sundkler's work possessed a number of shortcomings, and Sundkler himself considered that more comparative work was required, not only in other parts of South Africa, but also in the Congo and West Africa. Only thus, Sundkler believed, was it possible to throw more light on the question of how far the new churches were linked to older forms of tribal organization.

This is what Dr. K. Schlosser, a lecturer in ethnography at the University of Kiel, has set out to do for South and South-west Africa. Dr. Schlosser, who has already made a name for herself through her book *Propheten in Afrika*,<sup>2</sup> now publishes a more intensive study, embracing a number of African peoples in South Africa, the Nama of South-west Africa, and also a small Eurafrican group near Cape Town. Her work begins with a short historical introduction. This is followed by six 'case-histories', each of which illustrates a different kind of church. Using both notes made during field-work on the spot and printed sources, she describes the religious doctrines, political aims and the social composition of each of these churches. The reader is told how these various congre-

<sup>1</sup> B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> K. Schlosser, *Propheten in Afrika* (Kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen, vol. 3, Braunschweig, Limbach, 1949).

gations came into existence, how they are organized and financed ; and she also has a good deal to say on the background and personality of each of the founders.

Dr. Schlosser's narrative makes fascinating reading, and one does not have to be a professional anthropologist or a student of comparative religion to be absorbed by these different ' case-histories '. All of these are possessed of some dramatic quality of their own. In most cases, moreover, the author is able to describe the emergence of these new religious groups *in statu nascendi*—a process which the historian interested in the growth of religious sects in Europe is normally forced to piece together from a few scattered documents.

Her chapter on religious separatism amongst Eurafricans breaks new ground. It shows the emergence of a small splinter-church, led by Cecil Hector, a Coloured lorry-driver, who worked his way up to be the owner of a garage, a house and a car of his own. Until 1952, Hector was a member of the Berlin Lutheran Mission, but he was unable to get on with his European colleagues and subsequently founded an organization of his own, based in the main on the Lutheran model. This group subsequently absorbed the members of another Eurafrican sect, whose leader had become reconciled to the Lutheran parent church and thus left his flock without a pastor.

Hector's career strongly contrasts with that of Enoch Mgijima, a fighting prophet of Old Testamentarian stamp, who claimed that his Bantu people were the Chosen Race, and in 1921 fought a pitched engagement with Union troops in defence of what his followers called ' holy ground '. Mgijima himself was a fairly prosperous lot-holder, but proved unable to secure enough land for the religious needs of his congregation, and Schlosser characteristically concludes that he would not have embarked on a course of armed resistance had the Government been prepared to set aside enough land for his church. Mgijima died in 1928, but his sect is still in existence, and its votaries still think back on the heroic memories of old, when the Israelites fought for the possession of the crown land which they had seized.

Edward Lekganyane stands for a church of a different type. Claiming to be a Black Messiah, he is also a sort of successful rural entrepreneur in clerical dress. He resides at Zion City Moria in the North Transvaal, where he owns two elegant Cadillacs, a Buick and a Chevrolet, as well as a small fleet of motor-lorries. The Messiah is attended by his own bodyguard and his own chauffeurs, as well as by a body of ' prophets ' and teachers. He believes himself to be able to heal the multitude of sick Africans who seek his help, and probably does achieve a number of therapeutical successes.

Lekganyane again contrasts with Johannes Galilee Shembe, the head of the Nazareth Baptist Church, a well-organized Zulu group, which centres on the settlement of Ekuphakameni, situated in a sugar-growing district in Natal. Shembe also makes Messianic claims and attempts to heal the sick, but appears to be rather a Zulu

chief in ecclesiastical garb. Shembe, who incidentally holds also a B.A. from the University of South Africa, is a competent farmer ; his followers are allowed to settle on church land, where they do not have to pay rent, but where they are expected to make various presents to their prophet, in return for the various religious, economic and therapeutical benefits which they receive from him. Schlosser's account of this settlement is particularly interesting as a ' follow-up ' of Sundkler's original work, and she seems greatly impressed by what has been achieved there. ' From the cultural point of view ', she argues, ' the existence of the Nazareth Baptist Church must be welcomed, as it serves to preserve at least parts of the material and intellectual culture of the Zulu.' Nowhere else, she continues, did she ever see as happy, contented and well-integrated a group of Africans as Shembe's people, but she agrees that even at Ekuphakameni the process of cultural change cannot be stopped.

Dr. Schlosser also has an interesting chapter in which she discusses a large-scale secession movement from the Rhenish Missionary Society in South-west Africa, which took place in 1946. The rebels were led by Hottentot evangelists of the society, and by Marcus Witbooi, a grandson of the famous Hendrik Witbooi, one of Southern Africa's greatest mounted guerrilla leaders. Hendrik Witbooi fought the Germans on the battlefield. His grandson, who apparently possesses all the ability of his predecessor, continues the struggle on the political and religious plane as one of the secretaries of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, an American Negro mission church, which now embraces a great many African doctors, journalists and lawyers. The secession movement, described by Schlosser, is also linked to tribal tension between the Nama and the Bergdamar, and possesses, moreover, major political significance, in view of the far-reaching secular aims of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South-west Africa.

All these organizations in turn differ sharply from Nicholas B. H. Bhengu's congregation. Bhengu is the sort of reformer in whom a moderate religious leader in eighteenth-century England, a man like John Wesley, might have seen a kindred spirit. Bhengu, a former court interpreter, appeals mainly to Africans working in the towns, many of whom are domestic servants. He preaches rational accommodation to the existing European authorities. He proclaims Jesus as their Redeemer, condemns alcohol, bad films, the doctrines of the ' Zionists ' and sexual immorality and—unlike Legkanyane, Mgijima and Shembe—does not sanction polygamy. He tries to prove the existence of God by means of faith-healing, but also approves of modern medicine. He considers that the Africans should appreciate the dignity of labour, live at peace with the Europeans, but insists that they must preserve their dignity in all their dealings with the White man. Bhengu's more distant aim is the formation of co-operative African village settlements, an object which seems little likely of fulfilment under present circumstances. He



also believes that crime, the scourge of European and African city-dwellers alike, must be fought at all costs, and instructs his followers to hand over weapons and stolen goods to the police. Needless to say, Bhengu's work is bitterly opposed by the African National Congress, but all the same, Bhengu's influence on his flock is very considerable. Schlosser regards his work as so important that she sees in him the representative of a third type of religious organization, differing sharply both from the Ethiopians and the 'Zionists', described by Sundkler. Bhengu's congregation is described by Schlosser as 'revivalist', and her account appears to be the first of its kind for Black South Africans.

Schlosser, apparently a practising Lutheran and a conservative in politics, concludes her work with a theoretical chapter of considerable interest. In this section the author attempts a social analysis of a more general kind, paying special attention to the problems of social stratification. She also adds an appendix, containing hymns and prayers written by Johannes Galilee Shembe which—even in their German version—appear to possess considerable literary merit. Dr. Schlosser's work certainly merits translation into English and constitutes a most valuable contribution to the study of religious sects in Southern Africa; its perusal will profit the missionary at least as much as the anthropologist and the student of religious history. Her work, moreover, is well produced, furnished with a valuable bibliography and supplied with a number of excellent photographs. Unfortunately it is expensive, despite the fact that its publication was subsidized by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. The author's style is dry but clear, though it occasionally lapses into 'sociologese', including the greatly over-worked term 'detribalized', which becomes no more attractive when transposed into German as an Anglicism.

From a more general point of view, this reviewer at any rate would also have been interested in the question of African break-aways from the Roman Catholic Church. As far as can be made out, the Catholic Church in South Africa does not appear to be subject to these secessions in the same degree, if at all. This in itself is a fact of major significance. It is very likely that the Catholics' ability to resist these secessions may have something to do with their splendid and colourful ritual, their doctrinal certainty, their rigidly centralized Church government, and the relative ease with which they bestow the gifts of Baptism and Absolution upon the faithful. It is also likely that the work of the Catholic missionary is made easier by the fact that he is sworn to poverty and celibacy, and is thus not linked in the same degree to the European society, in which his married Protestant colleague is rooted. This would appear to be a problem worthy of further investigation. The Catholics in Europe too have, after all, been less subject to religious secessions than the Protestants, at any rate since the days of the Counter-Reformation; and in addition they seem to have retained the loyalty

of European industrial workers to a greater extent than most other churches. But these observations are only incidental in character. They can in no wise detract from the value of this most scholarly and interesting work, which forms a most valuable contribution to the sociology of religion.

*Central African Archives,*

L. H. GANN.

*Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.*

*English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908)*, By RUTH M. SLADE. Académie royale des Sciences Coloniales (Bruxelles, 1959). Pp. 432. 2 maps *in fine*. 400 Fr. Belges. Obtainable from L'office de publicité, 16, rue Marcq, Bruxelles.

DR. RUTH SLADE has rightly portrayed Christian missionaries as secular men battling for Western civilization in the Congo in this published version of her recent University of London Ph.D. thesis. Her excellent and well-written narrative traces the growth of mission activity in the Congo Independent State throughout the vicissitudes of early years on the lower Congo River to later problems with King Leopold II and the Belgian colonial administration. She focuses her primary attention on missionary agitation and the Congo Reform Association, which led finally to the annexation of the Congo State by Belgium in 1908.

As narrative historical writing, in keeping with the British tradition of colonial historiography, Dr. Slade's account is exceedingly well done. It seems a pity, however, that so much of the detail is centred on negotiations in Belgium, England, and the United States, and that so little is included about missionary activity in the Congo, which is not what her title leads the reader to expect. 'This study,' reads Dr. Slade's introduction, 'attempts to estimate the contribution which Protestant missionaries have made to the history of the Congo, during the period of the Congo Independent State and the early years of Belgian colonial rule.' Even the chapter on 'Missionary Methods, 1885-1908' does not answer in depth many questions that should be asked: Did the missions wreak any sort of social changes on the structure of societies in which they found themselves? What were, indeed, the types of tribes among whom the different missions worked? And did differences in success arise because of these variations? It would be useful, too, to know whether there were substantive differences in day-to-day methodology between Catholics and Protestants, apart from the growth of Catholic *chrétientés* and *ferme-chapelles*. Of what nature was the missionary educational work and early medical labours?

Dr. Slade has organized her book to tell the story of the growth of missionary interest in, and activities within, the Congo. She has interesting sections on the international diplomacy revolving around the Congo Reform movement, and her best chapters consider this theme. The real story of Congo reform is set in England, where

Edmund Dene Morel laboured to reveal atrocities and inequities in the Congo system, and not on mission stations along the great river and her tributaries. Because of this, not enough is said about relationships of missionaries to the Congo administration, to Africans, and to their mission colleagues. The Protestant missionaries, whether British Baptists or American Disciples of Christ, are too often lumped together as one entity for purposes of analysis. This is, at best, misleading.

Although this book presents a competent over-all picture of Congo missionary activities, there are curious gaps, occasional minor errors when secondary sources are relied upon too extensively, and often a possibly dangerous tendency to infer causal relationships without conclusive evidence : e.g. when it is said that passage of an American Senatorial resolution had appreciable effect on King Leopold's policy towards Congo State annexation. Discussion of activities in the southern Congo, which this reviewer knows best, concentrates on the important work on the upper Kasai, but treats too briefly the early and contrasting settlements of Plymouth Brethren, who came from the west rather than the north. The account of the death of Msiri at the hands of Capt. Bodson and six Zanzibaris in 1892 tends to be misleading, because only a portion of the incident is reported. Changes which are still little understood followed in the wake of Msiri's death, and these channels could have been explored, particularly for their effects on subsequent mission activity in the Katanga. The reader might also welcome further analysis that would explain why certain missions desired to expand in certain directions, at particular times. Why, also, did the missions fail to work away from the riverine areas after communications were fairly well established ? And why was Lake Tanganyika never utilized as an avenue for evangelization as it was on its eastern, southern, and northern approaches ? One would also have been interested in African viewpoints on early missionary endeavours, on their reactions to mission growth ; in this connection experimentation with new techniques of oral history would have been most valuable. The reader is not clear whether Dr. Slade engaged in field-work in the Congo for her dissertation.

Despite these other emphases and minor points (Christian names are rarely given ; superficial explanations are sufficient to explain complicated social phenomena like bridewealth and the status of women ; an annotated bibliography and a more extensive index would have been useful, though the maps are adequate), Dr. Slade's work is an important contribution both to a history of mission work in Africa, and to the literature on the early Congo. King Leopold II is seen as an ethnocentric entrepreneur in his policy of encouraging the ruthless rubber trade and a constant influx of Belgian Catholic missionaries. His machinations in forcing the French Holy Ghost mission to leave, and later in seeking to forestall Baptist Missionary Society efforts on behalf of the Congo Reform

Association, are dealt with deftly. The reader also sees a Leopold imbued with visions of a kingdom in Africa, of a colony made to pay its way while the heathen are gradually Westernized.

In this context the missionaries had a role, though with increasing difficulty from King Leopold and the various Congo concessionaires. The missionaries brought the first glimpse of Western civilization to many parts of the Congo. To some they brought protection from marauders like the Zappo Zaps : to others, like Msiri, they brought prestige and trade goods. Their steamers connected with the Atlantic and were at first the only visible appurtenances of an imposed government. Much later they served to protect some African tribes against the exactions of the rubber traders, as a place of sanctuary. Finally they began to teach French, and Africans flocked again in new waves to the stations to train for administrative posts. One American missionary-wife even returned from overseas with a telegraph machine on which to train telegraphists for a newly opened occupation. By 1908, when the main narrative account ceases, the full story of Christian growth, including the formation of a viable indigenous church, could not be written. This, rather than logistics of transport or reform agitation in England, is the crucial story of the contemporary church in the Congo, and in Africa.

*Princeton University.*

ROBERT ROTBERG.

*Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa.* By MONICA WILSON. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, (London, 1959). Pp. 228. 35s.

THIS second book on the rituals of the Nyakyusa people of southern Tanganyika has rather less unity of content than did its predecessor by Professor Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa* (1957), for although it has a common theme running through it—ritual activities and beliefs not confined to kinship—orientated situations *per se*—this theme not unexpectedly has a number of rather different ramifications. The contents of this volume range from the mythological pseudo-historical charter of the people and its practical application in the institutional complex of the 'divine kings', through the beliefs and activities inherent in the operation of the individual, petty chiefdoms, description of rituals performed for communal welfare (e.g. rain-making, cleansing the country), medicines and doctors, to Nyakyusa cosmology. Finally there are two chapters examining the nature and effects of modern change on the rituals of these people.

For a long time now the Nyakyusa have been of especial interest to anthropologists and others because of their particular, perhaps unique, system of age-villages and political organization. Because the present reviewer was fortunate enough to work for a time among the Nyakyusa he has frequently been asked by colleagues and students to amplify some of Mrs. Wilson's writings. By far the most common point raised is whether the Nyakyusa village and political system



really worked as described. Some careful readers have concluded that not all the required data have been available to provide a proper understanding ; some suggested that the account in *Good Company* (1952) and other works was idealized and formalized, or at least that it was an ideal rather than an actually workable system. Such opinions have, in my view, some truth, though not perhaps as much as these critics believe. The critics and others will find in this latest volume a considerable amount of information on both the village and political systems (the two are intimately inter-connected, of course) which goes beyond the purely ritual aspects implied in the title. This new data should make it much clearer how the Nyakyusa system operated. For example, there is a good deal on the nature of relations between successive generations in respect of political authority, land and ritual activity, and the twenty pages of chapter four (‘ The ritual of chieftainship ’) should surely make the nature of chiefship and chieftom more explicit. There is both new information as such and also a more developed analysis of certain of the already existing data. Anyone who has read and puzzled over the social system of the Nyakyusa (and there are very many who have) should without question read at least these parts of this new book. They should give careful attention, too, to the map of the villages of one chieftom at page 100 together with (but separated by some odd quirk of the publishers from) the details on them at pages 224-6 and the table at page 91.

On the other hand, some criticism remains, and perhaps especially for one who knows the people anthropologically. The impression is given to readers, though probably not by intention, throughout Professor Wilson’s publications on the Nyakyusa that she is dealing with a fairly homogeneous society in all parts of which the village and political systems were similar. In fact this is not the case now and it is unlikely ever to have been so in the past either. These systems as described by Professor Wilson refer primarily to that area in which she and her husband did their most deeply penetrative work—the east of the country. There were and are quite radical differences in the southern, Lake Plains and in the west and north-east of the country. Indeed I would go so far as to suggest that what was an operational system in the east was in the south more an ideal plan of social and political action which commonly (usually ?) did not work out quite like that in practice ; whilst in the north-east (Mwakaleli area) the ideal plan seems to have received little more than lip-service in the immediately pre-European era. In this latest book Professor Wilson makes repeated references to one or two chieftoms of the eastern part of the country but exceedingly few references to anywhere else. This in itself, of course, does not matter so long as we are quite sure precisely what we are talking about, i.e. a specific area of the Nyakyusa country and not the whole. On the other hand because this small country contains several radically different natural environments in its sharp incline



from Lake Nyasa to the surrounding mountains we are not justified in assuming that social adaptations are everywhere the same : and we know already that historical developments varied in different parts of the country too. We are presented with the ideal system of Nyakyusa social and political structure and processes and we are shown (and now more clearly than ever) how they work out in one area. They worked out differently in other areas and had the fundamental orientation been obtained from another area even the ideal system might have appeared and been described in rather different perspective. Clearly, as some critics shrewdly suspect, the ideal system is not easily workable because of inherent intractabilities ; it did work out reasonably well in the east (perhaps that is why Mrs. Wilson worked there ?) but it did not do so well elsewhere. The invaluable genealogical charts of the two main chiefly lines given in this new book require detailed examination in the light of ideal and actual political and social processes of the bifurcation of chiefdoms and the evolution of age-villages. From these genealogies (not hitherto available to the ordinary reader) it is quite clear that bifurcation did not inevitably occur and we need to understand why this was so and what did happen in order to understand thoroughly the fundamentals of this Nyakyusa system.

There is, however, a good deal more than a further examination of the village and chiefdom systems and their ritual concomitants. This review has dwelt on that aspect because it is evidently the one most interesting to anthropologists. But the account of 'divine kings' (to take a particular example) or the further development of a first-class, sociological account of the ritual and supernatural beliefs and practices of a single people in Africa (to take a more general view) make this book even more welcome. In particular I should like to recommend Mrs. Wilson's account of the illness and treatment of Kasitile the Priest : it is an excellent case-study of supernatural beliefs in practice and I venture to suggest that it should become a classic of its kind. There is an excellent account of the earlier stages of the introduction of Christianity and the problems which result which goes some way to document the generally rather vague statements which are too often made in this field of culture contact.

The penultimate chapter on 'Twenty Years' Change' is not up to the standard of the rest of the book and is indeed largely superfluous since the real concern and interest otherwise is with the traditional system as observed and recorded in the later 1930's. Very radical changes have indeed occurred since then and some of them are noted in this chapter in rather general terms, sometimes missing the point, which do not always meet the case with the carefulness of other chapters. The economic changes are not adequately or even fairly treated. For example, the Nyakyusa do not accept so readily as asserted the advice of Europeans on rice and coffee growing ; village headmanships in the Lake Plains and elsewhere

certainly are becoming hereditary, several in the third generation in 1956, and contrary to what Professor Wilson says the office is still much sought after because it affords, in some ways, much greater authority than it did formerly. Too often descriptions of social change in Africa are couched in general terms whilst traditional systems are admirably analysed in close detail and objective thoroughness ; and here unfortunately is another case.

The Nyakyusa have become now one of the best-recorded peoples of Africa, in that small class occupied by the Tswana, the Ashanti and only one or two more. Information is not only plentiful on the Nyakyusa but it has been admirably recorded ; above all, the data are based firmly on really good field-work and anthropologists owe a great debt to Professor Wilson and the late Godfrey Wilson. One can only recommend as warmly as possible that this book receive the careful attention which has been given to the previous works. If, in conclusion, a liberty may be taken, grounded on a sincere appreciation of what is already available, I should like to ask if we can be given a more detailed analysis of Nyakyusa kinship and most especially of the lineage than we have to date. This seems to be the major sociological gap in the Nyakyusa material, and in this I voice not merely a personal opinion but also what is in the minds of some keen students of Professor Wilson's writings on these important people.

*African Research and Studies Program,  
Boston University.*

P. H. GULLIVER.

*Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi, with special reference to identification, classification, preparation and nutritive value of the respective foods.* By P. J. QUIN. The Witwatersrand University Press (1959). Pp. 276. £3 10s.

THE foods and feeding habits of nearly any tribe in Africa are of considerable interest to the student of African problems if for no other reason than because they have long been neglected by researchers : kinship, sex, material culture, and, in fact, almost anything, usually seems to hold greater fascination for those who assign themselves the task of describing African peoples. A book with such a title as the one under review, therefore, holds promise of helping fill sizeable gaps which confront social scientists, ecologists, agriculturists, and nutritionalists.

The merit of Dr. Quin's monograph, the published version of a Ph.D. dissertation directed by M. D. W. Jeffreys, is enumeration and lengthy description of the foods which the Pedi, a tribe of the Union of South Africa, utilize ; it includes attention to production, storage, processing, modes of consumption, and attitudes towards items consumed, which, if fairly accurate, is a commendable accomplishment, even if the material is often poorly organized and awkwardly presented.

Greatly needed, but lacking, is a statement of how and when field-work was done, and description of the Pedi physical environment (the reader is told only that the Pedi inhabit an area of irregular rainfall, about 26 inches per year, characterized by poor and badly eroded soils).

A string of quotations constitutes the main body of the historical and ethnographical background. Foodstuffs are discussed one at a time, and, in most cases, the treatment includes something on the plant or animal's origin. Typically this turns out to be nothing more than an uncritical summary of a minute part of the literature, presented without the slightest warning to the non-expert reader that the origin of most food plants is still highly uncertain and vigorously disputed, or that the literature cited is merely a sample, and not necessarily a representative one.

Dr. Quin has also assumed the heroic task of comparing the Pedi utilization of each foodstuff with that of other tribes of the world ; of course he fails by being grossly incomplete.

Another failure is his effort to describe the present geographical distribution in Africa of each of the Pedi foodstuffs. For this, Githens's and Carroll's highly inaccurate, incomplete, and dated pamphlet<sup>1</sup> is monotonously quoted paragraph after paragraph.

Interpretation and analysis is scant and, where attempted, is not only weak, but displays a poor acquaintance with the current state of knowledge. For example, one encounters the assertion (p. 98) that : 'The traditionally controlled cattle wealth of the Bantu contributes relatively little to the food resources of the country.' But surely Dr. Quin will admit that if cattle are held as a reserve food supply, as they seem to be in most, if not all, Bantu cattle-keeping societies, they constitute a sizeable food resource, and a very important one since they permit farmers to hedge against years when plants normally utilized for food are short. The existence of a large herd of cattle effectively reduces the risk faced by the producer with plant cultivation, and is far from being evidence of irrational economic behaviour as Dr. Quin's discussion of cattle implies it is.

In the absence of a banking tradition, it is not unreasonable to expect the Pedi to keep cattle in large numbers but only rarely to eat them. They have probably long reasoned that while drought, disease, and pest epidemics could destroy all their cultivated plant foods and foodstuffs, cattle could always be driven to grazing areas which were less severely damaged, even if local pastures, as well as crops, were ruined ; or, that cattle could be traded for food with a more fortunate neighbour. If Pedi keep more cattle than are needed for this reserve, is it not possible this is because of a desire for liquid assets ? And among the Pedi there seems always to be a ready market for livestock, and a ready market within the village.

<sup>1</sup> T. S. Githens and E. W. Carroll, *The Food Resources of Africa* (Philadelphia, 1943).

There is no need to take animals to a distant town. Cattle have the further advantage of earning compound interest in the form of offspring. Offsetting, of course, is the risk of loss, but this is probably low. Although we are given no information on this in Dr. Quin's account, the Pedi are probably similar to many other African cattle-keeping peoples, inasmuch as animals that accidentally die or are killed can be cut up and the meat sold for little, if any, less than the live value. A related factor, and one that is very likely of considerable importance, is related to social obligations: if one's liquid assets are livestock, they, unlike money, cannot be easily dissipated by one's affines. In short, there are very plausible economic explanations for Pedi attitudes toward cattle.

In the final chapter, Dr. Quin asserts, without providing solid evidence: 'Whereas nature balanced the food supply of the Pedi, 'civilization' has created a condition that hovers between mere existence and starvation and which has manifested itself in a problem of gross malnutrition (p. 274): 'One can only conclude that the author of such a statement is unaware of the great difficulty there is in establishing what the nutritional condition of these people was before "civilization".'

Equally unconvincing is his argument that malnutrition is the current state of health for the majority of the Pedi population. The following is part of the evidence he cites to buttress his hypothesis '... statistics published in the 22nd Annual Report of the South African Institute of Race Relation (October, 1950-September, 1951) reveal that even if the nutrient intake of the non-European were raised to a preliminary "target" only, the country's annual shortage would be 65 million gallons of milk, 1642 million pounds of vegetables and fruit, 34 million pounds of fat and butter, and 642 million pounds of legumes (p. 275).'

How can one meaningfully talk about a 'target' level of intake when nutritional experts cannot yet agree on what the nutritional requirements of Euroamericans are? (And of the nutritional requirements of the Africans even more remains to be learned.)

Secondly, even if there were a target level of intake we could agree on as desirable, what assurance have we that estimates of quantities consumed, or of quantities available for consumption, are at all reliable? If, as is extremely likely, the data cited are derived from production figures (i.e. if consumption is defined as production minus net exports or plus net imports, minus an estimate for amounts used as feed, other non-food uses, losses, and waste), there is plenty of room for errors, and large ones. When data of this nature are cited as evidence, one would expect some discussion of their trustworthiness. There is nothing to indicate Dr. Quin was aware of, or interested in, such subtleties. Rather, he seems to have grasped uncritically anything which appeared to be consistent with his conclusion '... that encouragement of their [the Pedi's] traditional foods and feeding habits could be the means of alleviating,



and perhaps even solving, the great problem of malnutrition and disease among these people (p. 275).'

In sum, as a reference book for those interested purely in description of Pedi foods and foodstuffs, this will undoubtedly be useful ; but it does not appear laden with even trustworthy description, much less rigorous analysis, of social problems or social behaviour.

*The Food Research Institute,*  
*Stanford University.*

MARVIN P. MIRACLE.

*Estudos, ensaios e documentos No. 50 : Agrupamento e caracterizacao etnica dos indigenas de Mocambique.* By ANTONIO RITA-FERREIRA. Ministerio do Ultramar junta de investigacoes do ultramar. Lisbon, 1958. Pp. 133.

PROFESSOR RITA-FERREIRA's survey and tentative classification of the indigenous peoples of Mozambique is a most welcome contribution to knowledge. It is admirably clear and well illustrated with photographs and two maps, one of ethnic groupings (guided by I.A.I. procedures), the other of linguistic zones (according to Doke). Brief summaries of the Portuguese text are provided in French and English. One supposes, in view of the author's eminence in his field, that the Portuguese entries in his bibliography are exhaustive.

One of the many sections Central Africanists will find of particular interest is that on the Maravi peoples. Professor Rita-Ferreira has refined the classification Tew proposes in her *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region* (I.A.I., 1950) by excluding from this group the Chikunda, the Nyungwe and the Sena (three peoples he includes with 'Peoples of the Lower Zambezi', an appellation suggested by Professor J. C. Mitchell) and by adding a new division, the Zimba, to the Chewa. Like Tew, however, Rita-Ferreira includes the Nsenga in the Maravi group, claiming that they are an offshoot of the Chewa due to Undi's expedition to the Lala and Lenje in the first half of the last century. The results of field-study among the Nsenga recently sponsored by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, and now available in part, suggest that both Tew's and Rita-Ferreira's classifications must be amended. Some oral accounts (admittedly sketchy) of Nsenga history have been collected which contradict the view that they originated from the Maravi area. Also, Nsenga ethnography and social structure are not of the Maravi kind, as this is generally understood. For example there is no *nyau* among the Nsenga, and many aspects of Nsenga life markedly resemble Bemba rather than Maravi features.

A peccadillo of the book under review is its unfortunate English phraseology in some passages, which could be revised in a reprinting.

*Rhodes-Livingstone Institute,*  
*Lusaka.*

R. J. APTHORPE.



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